

Articles by George Meany, William C. Doherty, Harold Stassen, James Brownlow and Others

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TWENTY CENTS

# *The American* **FEDERATIONIST**

L A B O R ' S M A G A Z I N E

PERIODICAL  
READING ROOM



NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE CONFERENCE OF A. F. OF L. BUILDING TRADES WAS ATTENDED BY 1,400

# *"See you at the* **UNION MEETING**



*Are you fulfilling your obligations as a trade unionist by attending meetings regularly? Or are you neglectful? Remember that you cannot be a good trade unionist unless you are a good citizen first—and a good citizen does not fail to attend and take an active part in meetings of his union. Do your share to maintain and to strengthen union democracy. Take a genuine interest in the affairs of your union. Study your union's problems. Bring new members into the fold. Attend union meetings regularly. And speak up when you have something to say that is for the good of your organization. This is the democratic way—and it is also the sensible, practical, time-tested way to build and strengthen your union so that it can serve you more effectively.*

# The American FEDERATIONIST

Official Monthly Magazine of the American Federation of Labor

APRIL, 1955

GEORGE MEANY, Editor

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## Peace or War?

I come back from Asia greatly impressed by the spirit and the purpose of the governments and peoples with whom I had contact. They want to preserve their freedom and independence.

However, patriotism alone is not enough. Small nations cannot easily be self-confident when they are next door to Communist China. Its almost unlimited manpower would easily dominate, and could quickly engulf, the entire area were it not restrained by the mutual security structure which has been erected. But that structure will not hold if it be words alone. Essential ingredients are the deterrent power of the United States and our willingness to use that power in response to a military challenge.

The Chinese Communists seem determined to make such a challenge. At the same time they are persistently trying to belittle our power and to throw doubt on our resolution. They boast that in 1950, in Korea, they drove United States forces back from the Yalu and gained a great victory. They boast of their victory over the French union forces in Indo-China and they misrepresent our non-participation as due to our weakness of will.

When we recently helped the Chinese Nationalists to evacuate the Tachens and other coastal islands, the Chinese Communists claimed that this represented great "victories" for them.

In such ways Chinese Communist propaganda portrays the United States as being merely a "paper tiger." It suggests to the small peoples whom they threaten that the United States will always find reasons to fall back when faced by brutal and uncompromising force, and that Communist China is sure to win.

The United States, in the interest of peace, has made great sacrifices and has shown great self-restraint. That is nothing for which we should feel ashamed. Indeed, it is something in which we can take pride. But we must always remember that the free nations of the Western Pacific and Southeast Asia will quickly lose their freedom if they think that our love of peace means peace at any price.

We must, if occasion offers, make it clear that we are prepared to stand firm and, if necessary, meet hostile force with the greater force that we possess.

John Foster Dulles.

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# THE PRESIDENT'S ECONOMIC REPORT

By **GEORGE MEANY**

**T**HE KEYNOTE of the Economic Report of the President for 1955 is found in the following statement:

"In view, however, of the likelihood that our economy is now undergoing a cumulative expansion of some strength, the wise course for government would be to concentrate this year on basic policies for fostering *long-run economic growth*. We should direct our program for 1955 principally to this purpose, rather than to seek to impart an immediate upward thrust to general economic activity." (Page 48) [*Emphasis added.*]

In plainer, simpler words, this statement means that the Administration is quite satisfied with the nation's present and prospective economic health and that its economic program for the immediate present will be based upon a "hands off" or "do nothing" policy. The recession of 1954 is—for the Administration—over. America is on its way to "a glorious economic future" and within a "decade" can increase its annual production from \$360,000,000,000 to \$500,000,000,000.

As an organization representing more than 10,000,000 wage-earners and their families, the American Federation of Labor would be more than happy to accept this light-hearted picture of America for 1955. We were gratified by the halt to the downswing of 1954, and pleased by the upturn of the last several months. But the bald statement that this recent upturn has developed into an expanding economy and that the government can rest on its laurels squares neither with the outlook



**PRESIDENT MEANY**

presented by our employers across the collective bargaining table nor with the statistics published by the President's Council of Economic Advisers.

## **Unemployment**

For example, what are the facts about unemployment?

The low point of unemployment during the 1953-54 recession was reached in August, 1953, when 1.9 per cent of the civilian labor force was out of work.

The peak of unemployment during the recession was reached in February-March, 1954, when the unemployed were 5.8 per cent of the labor force.

The latest figures published by the Council of

Economic Advisers indicate that for January, 1955, unemployment was 5.3 per cent.

Nor is the situation changed by reviewing the absolute figures of unemployment. In August, 1953, there were officially 1,200,000 unemployed. This figure rose officially to a peak of 3,700,000 in March, 1954. By January, 1955, there were officially still 3,300,000 unemployed. Thus, by official measurement, unemployment is much more than twice as large as it was when the recession began.

All of these official figures do not describe accurately the extent of unemployment. There are just no figures which fully reflect the number of men and women who are ready, willing and able to work but who do not have jobs. The official figures do not count as unemployed the men laid off and promised employment in several weeks or several months. Nor do official figures reflect unemployment arising from short work-weeks. And they do not tell of the increasing number of weeks of unemployment facing the wage-earner if he is laid off. Concretely, an unemployed worker could expect—on the average—to be out of work roughly ten weeks if he lost his job during the early months of 1954. Yet in the closing months of 1954 he could expect to be out of work for thirteen weeks.

In the face of these facts concerning unemployment, it should be quite understandable just why the American Federation of Labor cannot believe that the welcome upturn of the last few months of 1954 has put an end to the problem of unemployment. If this record on unemployment reflects the achievements of the Administration while it was actively engaged in its program to end the recession of 1953, what can be expected if the Administration now adopts a "hands off" policy with regard to existing unemployment?

The American Federation of Labor has watched the sluggish decline of unemployment. We have been heartened by this all-important indicator of recovery. But we believe that the progress to date is no reason for the complacency exhibited by the Administration's position that unemployment will now cure itself and the nation can now focus its attention upon long-run problems of the economy. To unemployed wage-earners every single day of unemployment is long enough and there is no need to search for "long-run" problems in terms of decades.

Throughout the Economic Report emphasis has been placed upon the fact that the true source of the recovery to date has been the confidence of all Americans that there was a positive federal program to end the recession. This belief that "something was being done" was most heartening—particularly to the worker without a job. Now, however, he will learn that nothing more need be done for the immediate present—despite the fact that more than 3,300,000 wage-earners are without jobs. It is not difficult to understand what will happen to the "confidence" about which the Economic Report boasts so blatantly.

To probe further into the facts of the recovery, con-

sider the record to date on industrial production and job-creating investments in plants and equipment.

## **Industrial Production**

What are the facts about industrial production?

At the onset of the recession, industrial production was at a peak described by an index number of 137.

In July-August, 1954, the low point of 123 was plumbed.

The current figure—estimated for December, 1954, by the Council of Economic Advisers—is 130 and represents the high tide of the recovery to date.

Thus industrial production is but halfway back to the pre-recession level; some seven of the fourteen points dropped have been recovered.

Moreover, even this recovery has been spotty. The durable-goods industries, fabricated metal products, electrical machinery, non-electrical machinery, and the clay, glass and lumber products industries registered declines in output in December. In the non-durable-goods industries, the gains in production have been steady except in the food, beverage and tobacco industries, where production remained practically unchanged throughout 1954. The really bright spot in production is the current output of automobiles since the introduction of new models.

But all of these data do not carry us beyond the welcome fact that the beginnings of a recovery are now in progress. The disturbing fact is that while production as a whole has reached halfway up the ladder of recovery, unemployment has not dropped by one-half. The unresolved question is whether or not "recovery" in terms of production will mean a return to full employment. Furthermore, the annual growth of the labor force for 1954, 1955 and the immediate years ahead indicates that the 1953 production rate is meaningless in terms of full employment.

## **Investment in Plant and Equipment**

What is the record on job-creating investments?

The heart of the Administration's recovery program has been the orthodox principle that, if investment incentives were stimulated, there would be an increase in job-creating construction of plant and equipment by producers.

In keeping with this principle, "incentives" were given to business almost to the exclusion of every other segment of the nation. To business management went the lion's share of the tax reductions, larger and faster depreciation allowances, greater periods of time over which business losses could be carried back for tax purposes, relief from taxation on dividends, and the definition of research expenditures as current expenses. All of this preferred treatment was designed to increase earnings and thus enable business to plough back an increased investment in plant and equipment. Requests for some stimulation for consumers by means of tax reduction were brushed aside with assuring statements

that consumers would benefit from the expected stimulation to the economy arising from greater investments.

When the record is examined, however, the undeniable fact is that investment in producers' plant and equipment for industrial purposes has declined *without interruption* since the start of the recession of 1953.

There has been no reversal of this downswing. There has been no upturn in this sector of our economy. In the third quarter of 1953 the annual rate of investment in plant and equipment by non-farm producers was \$32,600,000,000. Quarter by quarter, it dropped throughout 1953 and throughout 1954. Moreover, business interests now report that such investment will be less in 1955 than it was in the two preceding years.

From these facts the Administration may conclude that it need not pursue its program of providing incentives to investment for the immediate present. Clearly the policy of ladling out benefits which enabled business to accumulate greater returns has not led to ploughing in the economic fields.

Yet in the face of the unsuccessful policy of stimulating producers, the Administration does not propose to stimulate consumption so that unemployment will drop at least as fast as production rises. Instead, the Administration now proposes to do nothing for consumers and also does not propose to change its policy by recalling some of the benefits granted to business as business incentives in the form of generous tax treatment. Its only declaration is that it will not reduce such taxes further *this year*, although it does hold forth such a prospect for perhaps next year.

We of the American Federation of Labor believed that the Administration erred in its single-purpose tax policy of aiding business producers almost exclusively. We urged the Administration to include in its program some stimulation for consumers. We saw that the accumulated inventories were simply unsold goods which could be most quickly liquidated by increased consumption rather than by increased production. Our position was not recognized.

Once again—supported by this record of failure of the Administration's business-incentive program—we urge that immediate steps be taken by Congress to improve the "climate of consumption" through significant reductions in taxes which now restrict consumer buying. Specifically, we urge reduction of income taxes for those on the lower rungs of the economic ladder and a reduction of excise taxes.

To sum up at this point, the American Federation of Labor can find no justification for the complacent attitude inherent in the position of the Administration that nothing "more" be done by it to restore the nation to a position of strength, and that our only problems are those of a "long run" nature.

We are not impressed by the timidity of the Administration in facing up to the immediate problems of the hour—problems which are clearly demonstrated by data which describe the extent of the economic upturn to date.

Putting aside for the time being this basic assumption

in the Economic Report, that our economic recovery is an accomplished fact, let us turn to the recommendations which are made "for the long run."

## Recommendations for Long-Run Economic Growth

This "Second Report of the present Administration under the provisions of the Employment Act of 1946" contains a number of recommendations designed to foster prosperity in the long run. But of all the proposals advanced, none merits priority of consideration more than the new interpretation of the Employment Act of 1946.

This act is a federal law enacted by the Congress of the United States to define the responsibilities of the federal government in promoting the economic well-being of the nation through maximizing employment, production and purchasing power. Since the depression of the 1930s the role of the federal government has been commonly recognized, and it is reduced to writing explicitly in the Employment Act of 1946.

In this Report the Administration attempts to water down the clear-cut responsibilities of the federal government by arbitrarily assigning to the individual states its conceptions of what the states should do as "partners" of the federal government. The explanation for this new interpretation of the Employment Act is a convenient discovery that in implementing the act the federal government is constrained by "the Constitutional rights of individuals," by the duty to "respect the authority of the states," and that "it must protect the integrity of the money in which contracts are expressed and payments made."

These references to the Constitutional duties of government are obviously platitudinous. No member of Congress in 1946 or subsequently ever believed that the Employment Act of 1946 was designed to scuttle the Constitution. Actually, this discovery of "constraints" is nothing but a transparent effort to shift responsibilities from the federal government to state governments—with or without their consent. This economic "states' rights" doctrine has been adopted as a method of postponing or avoiding completely necessary improvements in conditions which most directly affect the daily lives of wage-earners.

## Minimum Wages

In the "long-run policies" proposed by the Administration in its Economic Report there is little of positive value for wage-earners. The inadequate recommendation to increase the minimum wage to 90 cents per hour is a lone exception. Even this recommendation is less than the facts indicate as being realistic.

There is no question about the fact that since 1938 the minimum wage has failed to keep abreast of the cost of living, increasing productivity and the general rise in wage levels. As early as 1951-52 the Wage



Stabilization Board accepted \$1 per hour as a conservative estimate of a minimum wage. The cost of living has moved upward since then and so have other pertinent economic factors affecting wages. Now, at this late date, the Administration has finally reached the position where it is willing to correct the injustice of a 75-cent minimum wage—but only up to 90 cents per hour.

In defense of its timidity, the Administration parades all the ancient and hackneyed arguments which were advanced every time the subject of minimum wages has been considered. Yet here again the dire predictions of the effects of minimum wage legislation have not been borne out. Reference is made to a recent study by the U.S. Department of Labor on "Results of the Minimum Wage Increase of 1950" which belies all the concern traditionally voiced over the alleged disastrous effects of necessary increases in the legal minimum wage. If full consideration is given to the historical record of this nation's advances since 1938, then there will be no question that the American Federation of Labor's proposal for a realistic minimum wage of \$1.25 per hour is merited.

The other long-run economic policies affecting wage-earners—unemployment insurance, housing and public works—demonstrate forcefully the real meaning of the Administration's discovery of "states' rights" in the Employment Act of 1946.

### **Unemployment Insurance**

Consider, for example, the Administration's proposals on unemployment insurance.

In this Economic Report full admission is made of the need to extend to more wage-earners the protection of unemployment insurance, the need to raise unemployment benefits to a level equal to 50 per cent of an unemployed worker's earnings, the need to increase duration of benefits to at least twenty-six weeks and the need to reduce the reasons for disqualifying unemployed workers from receiving benefits.

But in the face of these problems, what solution does the Administration propose? It proposes to turn these matters over to the individual states to resolve.

This refusal by the Administration to face up to its problems can mean only one thing: *retrogression*. All the progress made toward creating a genuine "built-in stabilizer" will come to a halt as particular states seize upon this opportunity to stimulate the migration of industry from other states by not improving unemployment insurance. States will not compete to protect wage-earners from the results of unemployment; they will compete in finding ways and means of tearing down this bulwark. We need only point to the record of the pitiable development of workmen's compensation under the doctrine of "states' rights" to support this conclusion.

Rather than proposing to turn back the development of unemployment compensation, this Administration should move in the direction of progress by establishing

federal standards for unemployment compensation and thus put an end to the use of the unemployed workers as pawns in a competitive game among the states. We believe that the well-being of individual workers as well as the strength of the entire nation can be preserved by a genuine unemployment insurance program. This is not the time to retreat from the policy of insuring workers against the disastrous effects of short-run unemployment which they can neither control nor avoid. No Administration can delude the wage-earners of this country that it is concerned with their welfare when it advances a long-term policy of stagnation or destruction behind the political screen of "states' rights."

### **Housing**

The long-term proposals for housing are based upon the recognized boom in the construction of homes for sale to persons able and willing to purchase housing through lifetime mortgages. But for those who are able neither to buy nor to rent privately built housing, the Administration offers practically nothing.

Under the leadership of the deceased Senator Taft, Congress adopted a public housing program which provided 135,000 units of subsidized housing each year for six years to replace the hovels in which people at the lower levels of the economic plane were forced to live. This Administration has watered this program down to 35,000 units for each of the next two years—providing that the public housing will be available only to persons displaced by slum clearance programs, not merely to those who need this minimal housing. For those least able to protect themselves this entire so-called "dynamic housing program" is a myth. Moreover, slum clearance and redevelopment programs are to "depend partly on what the federal government does and in much greater degree on the efforts of civic organizations and on actions that can be taken only by state and local governments."

The shifting of our national disgrace—slums—on to the states is but one reflection of the basic doctrine of the Administration.

### **Public Works**

The Economic Report describes fully the nation's needs for highways, schools, hospitals and roads. A special message is promised on a national highway program. The traditional role of the states in the construction of schools and hospitals is mentioned. But nowhere is mention made of the relationship between public works and stimulation of the economy to insure that it will continue the upward movement from the recession of 1953-54. The description of public works given in the Report is connected solely with plans for the next ten years and the needs of the nation over that span of time. By thus adopting the position that the recession is over, the Administration reduces the role of the federal government and emphasizes the responsibilities of the states and municipalities.

The difficulty which lies at the bottom of the proposed shift of immediate responsibility for public works from the federal government to the states is that the states are not in a position to finance such a heavy public works program. In the laws of many states and municipalities there are fixed ceilings of the amount of indebtedness they may incur. Many states have already reached those ceilings.

In the face of this dilemma, the Administration shows great resourcefulness; the Administration tells the states they should pass new laws increasing their debt ceilings.

While this "guidance" is a far cry from the doctrine of respecting "states' rights," nevertheless the Administration's entire "program" of public works collapses without new and higher state debt limitations. Even shifting public works to the states does not enable the Administration to escape the problem.

In short, there is nothing in this Economic Report concerning public works which is either realistic or progressive. Rather, retrogression is the keynote, and human values are displaced by political theories.

To sum up at this point, the "discovery" of "Constitutional limitations" in the Employment Act of 1946 by this Administration appears to be singularly fortuitous; the doctrine of "states' rights" has been elevated into a perfect defense against proper action by the federal government during times of economic downswings.

This defense is used against any proposal affecting

workers directly; it is strangely missing in programs designed to aid business—big or small, foreign or domestic. Frankness requires that this entire approach be brought into public view.

### Conclusion

After full consideration of this Economic Report, it is the judgment of the American Federation of Labor that there is little in it to guide the people of America along paths which are certain to lead to economic growth and expansion. Timidity rather than bold leadership is the outstanding characteristic of the Report.

Within the limits of our private-enterprise system, there is a dynamic role which the federal government must play if the nation is to move forward. Halfhearted, "wait and see" attitudes are not in keeping with the times. At this moment the confidence of the people of America in the economic strength of their nation is high; this is not the time to gamble with that belief. Any hesitation, any false step now in economic leadership can have disastrous consequences both here at home and abroad. True conservatism dictates positive measures which will bring an end to the recession which is now into 1955. We have had our "second best" year; there is not time for a "third best" or longer period of inferior years.

The American Federation of Labor urges Congress to step into the breach which the Economic Report would establish and take positive steps to preserve the signs of economic recovery which are in evidence.

## Building Trades Meet in Washington

THE LARGEST legislative conference ever held by the Building and Construction Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor attracted 1,400 delegates to Washington last month. The building trades representatives were from every state except Nevada, North Dakota and South Dakota. The conference launched a drive to secure passage of amendments to the Taft-Hartley Act and the Davis-Bacon Law. The delegates visited the Capitol and discussed the bills with their Congressional representatives.

The opening session of the conference, which was held at the Mayflower Hotel, was addressed by George Meany, president of the A. F. of L.; Richard J. Gray, president of the Building and Construction Trades Department; Senator Patrick McNamara of Michigan and Representative John E. Fogarty of Rhode Island.

The Taft-Hartley amendments would eliminate Section 14-B, revise the secondary boycott provisions, permit union shop pre-hire contracts and change the thirty-day union-security provision to seven days in building trade contracts. The Davis-Bacon amendments would extend the prevailing wage coverage to federally assisted projects and would confer full enforcement authority on the Secretary of Labor. Failure to enforce has been hit hard recently by labor.



*Richard Gray presided at big building trades conference*

# 'The Great Crusade Is Over'

**T**HE record of the Eisenhower Administration was strongly criticized by William F. Schnitzler, secretary-treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, in an address at the sixth annual banquet of the Philadelphia branch of Labor's League for Political Education.

To those who are still waiting for "the real Ike" to emerge, the A. F. of L. officer said that, "in the light of the record, the persistence of such a dream represents a triumph of hope over experience, of ballyhoo over reality."

"The great crusade is over," Mr. Schnitzler declared. "It never got past the feed trough."

He called on labor to combat the "techniques of the huckster, the political medicine man and the smear artist" with a hard-hitting political education campaign that will bring labor's 1954 gains to full-blown victory in 1956.

"There is always the temptation to reply in kind, to exchange low blow for low blow," Mr. Schnitzler said, "but we must resist that temptation. We are not in the smear market."

L.L.P.E. Director James L. McDevitt told the crowd of 1,000 that the defeat of "reactionary forces who have opposed virtually all of labor's legislative program in Washington" will be the chief objective of the A. F. of L. in 1956. Labor's League is joining with other groups, he said, in a determined effort to conduct "the greatest labor political education drive this nation has ever witnessed."

Mr. Schnitzler hailed the 1954 election results as showing important gains for labor at the state and local levels where basic political strength is built. He pledged that the American Federation of Labor will "pull no punches" in the 1956 campaign and will exercise its right to "place responsibility at the door where it properly belongs." The A. F. of L.'s secretary-treasurer indicated that, on the basis of the Eisenhower Administration's record to date, the responsibility would be laid squarely at the White House door.

If the American people had known in 1952 that they were voting for a "national brokerage agency" instead



*Secretary Schnitzler addressed Philadelphia L.L.P.E. banquet*

of a responsible government administration, Mr. Schnitzler said, their decision might well have been different.

He castigated the Administration's action on Dixon-Yates as a move to undercut the Tennessee Valley Authority. He also assailed the Administration for its failure to act on the school crisis, its "rich man's tax bill" and its packing of the National Labor Relations Board with "company lawyers."

If the White House does nothing more on school construction than presently proposed and continues to bring in bankers and stock market sharpers, rather than educators, to support its "federal leadership program," said Mr. Schnitzler, then America's children should be taught about "the bulls and the bears" instead of "the birds and the bees."

Tying the record of the Administration directly to President Eisenhower, the A. F. of L.'s secretary-treasurer said the American people bought a package that "contained a lot of things they had not bargained for" when they picked Mr. Eisenhower in 1952.

"All wrapped up in the same bundle," he said, "were Dixon and Yates, Beeson and Benson, McLeod and McCarthy, Jenner and Bricker, Weeks and Reece, layoffs and bird dogs, giveaways and the 'numbers game'—yes, even Natvig and Matusow, and who knows what to come."

Governor George M. Leader, Pennsylvania's young new chief executive, was a speaker at the Philadelphia banquet, and he pledged that if any so-called "right to work" bill ever got through the Legislature, he would veto the measure "promptly and emphatically." The misnamed "right to work" laws enacted by eighteen states are "a new menace in America which is rapidly becoming nationwide," he said.

Governor Leader, the first Democrat to win election to that office in many years, told the throng:

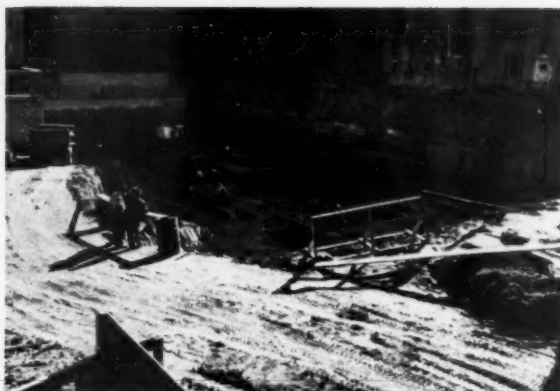
"I consider this type of legislation a menace and threat to collective bargaining, an imposition on the legitimate administration of local unions and a restriction on the proper development of our trade unions."

The goal of "right to work" legislation, no matter in what form it is presented, is to lower wages, permit the breaking down of working conditions, sap the consumers' purchasing power and strike a dangerous blow at the right of working people to organize effectively for their protection and advancement, Governor Leader said.

## **'Mr. Fraud' Film-Strip Is Now Available**

A NEW FILM-STRIP stating labor's case against the so-called "right to work" laws is now available from the Department of Education, American Federation of Labor. The film-strip is entitled "Mr. Fraud—The Right-to-Wreck Man." It runs fourteen minutes, comes with sound and is in color. The film-strip is accompanied by discussion guides. It is cleared for television use. "Mr. Fraud—The Right-to-Wreck Man" should be ordered from the Department of Education, 1625 Eye St. N.W., Washington 6, D.C. The price is \$15 for each strip and record.





*Thousands pass site where work goes forward on the new \$3,500,000 headquarters*

## Cornerstone Ceremony Is Set for April 30

**GOOD PROGRESS IS MADE ON THE FEDERATION'S NEW BUILDING NEAR THE WHITE HOUSE AND OTHER HISTORIC CAPITAL SITES**

**CORNERSTONE-LAYING CEREMONIES** for the new American Federation of Labor headquarters building in Washington will be held on Saturday, April 30. President George Meany has invited President Eisenhower to take part, and the Chief Executive has said that he will be happy to attend barring unforeseen circumstances. The occasion will be historic. When the Massachusetts Avenue headquarters building was dedicated in 1916, President Woodrow Wilson participated.



*Picture below shows the stage reached recently*



# STOP KICKING THE POSTAL WORKERS AROUND

By WILLIAM C. DOHERTY  
*President, National Association of Letter Carriers*



MR. DOHERTY

FOR those in private industry whose wages and working conditions are determined by collective bargaining processes, the procedure for establishing federal salaries presents somewhat of a mystery. A man from Mars would probably be no more at a loss to understand governmental procedures than the average outside observer from our own planet.

This observation will be more easily accepted once it is understood that adjustment of federal salaries does not generally follow the pattern of accepted economic standards or practices.

For example, the income needs of government workers as measured against prices, living standards and other accepted economic factors in wage disputes are almost entirely neglected. It is not that these needs are unacknowledged. They are acknowledged and then simply ignored for the most part. A classic example is to be found in the testimony of two responsible Administration spokesmen before Congressional committees in the 1951 wage hearings.

Both the chairman of the Civil Service Commission and the Postmaster General at that time told Congress a minimum increase of 21 per cent was required to restore 1939 purchasing power to the postal employees. This testimony certainly acknowledged the economic distress of the postal employees. However, having bowed in the direction of the facts in the case, these same spokesmen actually recommended less than 7 per cent.

Another peculiarity of government is the absence of the human factor in wage negotiations. It is readily con-

ceded this same void too often exists in salary determinations in private industry. However, the absence of the profit factor in government has the tendency to eliminate the human factor and substitute political considerations. A corporation showing high profits is more inclined to pay better wages, if not because of human impulses, at least in recognition of the fact that continued profits and high production depend in a large degree on satisfied employees. Government seemingly believes it is not necessary to follow this pattern, although it would be an equally effective self-serving device to its operation.

The monopolistic features of government make it virtually impossible to place a market value on the skills of an employee as can be done in a vigorously competitive industry.

LET us take a corporation which embarks on an expansion program. In the process more goods are finished and sold. The result is generally higher profits. The employee whose livelihood depends on how the market prices his labor can reasonably expect to participate in the company's increased profits in the form of better wages.

Paradoxical as it may seem, the opposite is true in government. Our federal government continues to grow. More and more services are made available to business, farmers and other segments of our citizenry. The bigger our federal system grows, the greater is the tendency to meet the cost of expansion from the employees' payroll.

In recent years a new type of think-

ing has permeated government spending. It's the businessman's outlook. He both likes and dislikes government spending. He likes it when it directly or indirectly enables business interests to progress, profits to increase and dividends to multiply. But he is the first to label it "ruinous" when the knife cuts the other way, that is, when the conditions of organized labor and others who work for a living are improved.

Everybody remembers when the excess profits tax was ended. The move was hailed far and wide by big business. What it did to the public treasury and the already unbalanced budget was lost in the scramble to clip coupons and otherwise reap the windfall that came from increased corporation dividends. That was the kind of government action that "made sense" to businessmen in government.

About the same time, postal and other government workers were striving to secure a modest pay increase. No adjustment in wages had been made in almost four years, despite mounting prices and shrinking purchasing power. The Postmaster General, Mr. Summerfield, had the answer when the knife began to cut the other way.

The employees' request, piously proclaimed Mr. Summerfield, was nothing more than a "raid of the Treasury." That was the forerunner of this year's charge of "fiscal irresponsibility" pinned on the proposal to reduce personal income taxes by \$20.

Practically every consideration of postal wages since the days of Ben Franklin has been saddled with the so-called postal deficit. Probably no

other phase of government has been so widely publicized and so misunderstood as the cost of operating the postal establishment.

Postal deficits are composed of many things, not insufficient postage rates alone as some would have us believe. Not the least of the various contributing factors is the tremendous operating loss incurred in maintaining postal service wherever there are mail users. There are over 40,000 post offices, of which probably not more than 6 per cent pay their way. It is not difficult to imagine how long private enterprise would maintain a like number of non-profit branch offices. No small portion of the remaining annual cost results from "public service" policies approved by Congress. These consist of free and less-than-cost items carried as a matter of public service and in the general interest of all citizens.

Whether these policies shall be continued or eliminated should have no influence on employe wages. In the absence of any resolution of this age-old controversy, the employes should not be asked or expected to underwrite a portion of operating costs out of their wages.

There are those who use the specious argument that employe wages cannot be adjusted because the postal service already costs taxpayers too much money. It will no doubt come as a surprise to this group to learn that several functions and departments of government are more costly than the Post Office Department. Proof of this statement will be found in the 1956 budget figures recently sent to Congress.

Table 7, on Page A-14 of "The Budget for Fiscal Year 1956," shows for the first time a comparison of the

cost of the federal government's benefits to business, labor, farmers, veterans and other groups in the economy. The figures are quite revealing.

Heading the list are the veterans' benefits which cost the government approximately \$4½ billion each year. Next come the farmers, who receive from \$750 million to \$1 billion annually depending on the level of price supports. Business is listed as receiving benefits totalling \$900 million. Included in this figure is the postal deficit charged to business because it presumably arises from losses sustained in handling the various classes of mail.

Our particular interest, however, was focused on the figures described by the imposing title, "Applicable Receipts of Public Enterprise Funds and Their Effect on Budget Expenditures." Reduced to simple language, these figures disclosed how much money each function and agency of government received through general appropriations, the amount of receipts derived from outside government sources and the resulting net budget expenditure for each agency.

The figures for fiscal years 1954 and 1955 are shown in the table reproduced at the bottom of this page.

It requires no more than a cursory study of these figures to discover that only two agencies cost less than the Post Office Department in fiscal 1954; in fiscal 1955 the number was three. Taking 1954 as a typical year, it will be found that postal operations resulted in only .4 per cent of the \$67.7 billion net budget expenditures.

In other words, postal revenue almost matched costs. Compare this .4 per cent cost with other agencies:

Independent offices, 9.5 per cent; General Services, 1.1 per cent; House and Home Finance, .9 per cent; Agriculture, 4.3 per cent; Commerce, 1.4 per cent; Defense (Military Functions), 59.5 per cent; Defense (Civil Functions), .8 per cent; Health, Education and Welfare, 2.9 per cent; Interior, .7 per cent; Justice, .2 per cent; Labor, .5 per cent; State, .2 per cent; Treasury, 10.8 per cent.

A logical conclusion to the argument that wages should depend on income would mean the end of most government functions and agencies. The appropriation for the legislative branch in fiscal 1954, for example, amounted to \$58.9 million. No receipts are shown as "public enterprise funds," so that the entire appropriation was a net budget expenditure.

Does this mean Congress should be dissolved because it is not paying its way? That would be senseless. No one in his right mind would even suggest the thought.

Does it mean Senators and House members should not be paid a fair salary because the legislative branch does not pay its way? Of course it does not mean that. As a matter of fact, Congressional wages were increased to \$22,500 a few days ago. The approval was made on the basis of fairness and equity and not solely on living costs. There was no reference to income expenditures of the legislative branch or the existence of a deficit in its operations.

A similar situation exists with respect to the judiciary. The appropriation was \$28.3 million in fiscal 1954. No applicable receipts are listed. Should this mean the dissolution of the judiciary? Should it mean underpaid judges in our federal courts? We think the answer is obvious on

AGENCY	1954			1955		
	Gross budget expenditures	Applicable receipts	Net budget expenditures	Gross budget expenditures	Applicable receipts	Net budget expenditures
Independent Offices .....	\$9,950,288,256	\$3,477,478,076	\$6,472,810,180	\$9,647,449,839	\$2,559,257,179	\$7,088,192,660
General Services Administration ...	808,228,980	2,692,389	805,536,591	1,173,501,645	4,322,112	1,169,179,533
Housing and Home Finance Agency.	1,440,178,631	2,054,772,590	614,593,959	1,666,817,211	1,481,465,471	185,351,740
Dept. of Agriculture .....	5,963,486,471	3,048,016,548	2,915,469,923	7,364,748,085	3,940,614,232	3,424,133,853
Dept. of Commerce .....	1,083,467,296	83,580,113	999,887,183	1,179,577,228	19,069,318	1,160,507,910
Dept. of Defense—Military Functions	40,336,252,986	479,753	40,335,773,233	34,375,430,700	430,700	34,375,000,000
Dept. of Defense—Civil Functions..	707,809,290	102,725,752	605,083,538	624,092,895	92,650,681	531,442,214
Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare .....	1,982,518,859	1,488,797	1,981,030,062	2,042,096,626	1,731,567	2,040,365,059
Dept. of the Interior .....	570,551,588	35,412,011	535,139,577	594,495,367	31,682,392	562,812,975
Dept. of Justice .....	182,643,091	.....	182,643,091	185,379,295	.....	185,379,295
Dept. of Labor .....	356,527,622	2,013,344	354,514,278	432,656,103	1,098,000	431,467,103
Post Office Dept. ....	2,686,297,013	2,374,591,710	311,705,303	2,740,605,808	2,472,951,701	267,654,107
Department of State .....	156,465,826	.....	156,465,826	137,917,329	.....	139,917,329
Treasury Dept. ....	7,339,117,951	366,990	7,338,750,961	7,732,406,717	608,410,087	7,123,996,630



both counts. The Department of Defense, for both military and civil functions, accounted for more than 60 per cent of the net expenditures shown. Should military pay be based on income? Certainly not, no more than a city government is expected to pay policemen and firemen on the basis of income realized by the police and fire departments.

Historically, postal wages have been considered in the light of postal deficits and to a lesser degree living costs. Invariably there is a generous mixture of political expediency involved. This approach to the wage problem is neither in accord with historic experience nor the laws of economics.

Wages are not quite so simple a problem; they are a complex of competitive forces, cost of living, productivity of the national economy, productivity of the individual firm and worker, collective bargaining, the American goal of a constantly rising standard of living and the demands of an economy predicated on "mass production" for a market through "mass consumption." We find it impossible to adopt the simple and untenable theory of wages voiced by those who neglect increased productivity. Management has ever been vociferous in proclaiming that wages (in given wage disputes) could not be raised without a corresponding rise in productivity. Clearly, if wages are kept down because of inadequate productivity, they should be raised in accord with adequate and increased productivity.

**I**T is a statistical fact that the postal service performs a variety of vital economic functions. A Senate study in 1954 made the following findings:

"Over the years postal revenues have tended to move with the total volume of goods and services the nation produces. Both have risen, with postal revenues advancing faster."

"During World War II the nation increased its per capita output more than 50 per cent, and the Post Office gross per capita income advanced fully 75 per cent. Since 1946, gains in postal revenues have continued to outstrip the increases in production."

"In 1938 pieces handled per man-year were 84.3 thousands; in 1952 they were 101.4 thousands."

"The over-all picture, comparing 1938 to 1952, has been one of in-



**Why is he exploited?**

creased employment, increased volume and increased productivity. From 1938 to 1952, employment increased 59 per cent, while volume in pieces went up 92 per cent. The great increase in volume handled over employment meant that a single employee handled 20 per cent more mail per year in 1952 than in 1938."

This very thorough Senate investigation demonstrated the unmistakable role played by postal workers in both the increased productivity of the nation and the postal service since 1938. Yet this is being completely ignored. The result is the worker is deprived of his historical participation in increased productivity.

There are those, too, who call on postal and other federal employees to accept inadequate wages in the name of patriotism. This has been an infrequent suggestion, to be sure, but occasionally it is advanced.

Government workers are no different than other wage-earners in shops, offices and factories wherever located. They have no magic formulas or hidden tricks by which they can defy or even suspend the normal laws of economics.

By the same token, it is not profaning patriotism to insist that pious platitudes are no substitute for income. Statistics are not exchangeable for rent, food and necessary personal services. There is nothing except income that a wage-earner can use to purchase food, warmth, shelter, to say nothing of recreation and the health and education of his children. The presence of these conditions is the thing which converts existence into living. The absence of adequate income can only mean one or more of these must suffer. The inevitable

result is an economically ill family.

Postal employees and other government workers have had no wage adjustment since July, 1951. Congress did approve a modest salary increase last year, only to have the President disapprove it by means of a pocket veto. In refusing to sign the bill, President Eisenhower stated, in part: "It ignores the necessity of revenue to pay for salary increase." Reference here was to the disinclination of Congress to tie-in a postage rate increase bill.

The veto message did not concern itself about the need of a wage increase. There was no rebuttal to the justification for an adequate income. Again it was a case of using the postal operating deficit as a whipping boy. The political overtones in reference to the failure to increase postage rates should not be overlooked.

Federal employees again are asking Congress to approve salary legislation. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has unanimously endorsed bills pending before Congress to provide a 10 per cent increase. This is described by the Council as a "minimum amount due government personnel."

The Council's statement called on Congress and the executive branch of government to take a constructive and non-political view of the need for adequate salaries. Declared the Council:

"The cost of government is properly the concern of each of us. No one advocates useless spending or the waste of our public treasury. However, in the matter of wages for federal employees, there is involved a very human question as well as a moral obligation on the part of those responsible for determining salaries. The human question can be satisfied only if the worker is given a wage that will enable him to provide decent and adequate care for his family. A moral responsibility exists as long as federal employees do not have collective bargaining rights and in the absence of economic privileges accorded workers in private industry in a given wage dispute."

To those who refuse to recognize this human equation and moral obligation and to those who say it will not work, the cynical postal employee might say what George Bernard Shaw once said of Christianity: the only trouble with it is that it has never been tried.

# WHY SHOULD AMERICA STAND LAST?

By **JAMES A. BROWNLOW**

*President, A. F. of L. Metal Trades Department*

**A**MERICA'S shipbuilding industry and merchant marine are vital links in our national defense. On the strength and readiness of the shipbuilding industry and the merchant marine the safety and economic well-being of all Americans depend to a considerable degree. We should have learned this lesson well—the hard way—from our experiences in World War I, World War II and, more recently, the Korean conflict.

Each time our shipbuilding industry and our merchant marine were completely unprepared to meet the emergency. Each time our shipbuilding industry had to perform its tasks in a great rush and at great cost. Each time the industry had been allowed to stagnate until the next emergency hit us.

It is high time that all Americans—regardless of where we live or what we do for a living—awake to this national problem. We must see to it that our elected spokesmen in Congress are aware of our concern and of our insistence on legislation to meet this critical situation effectively.

What has happened to our once vast shipbuilding industry and our merchant marine is a sad saga hidden in statistics. Seldom does the story make the headlines. The reports and the releases of the Maritime Administration and the various shipbuilding and merchant marine associations tell a tale all Americans should know and do something about.

Lloyd's latest report indicates that the United States has dropped to last place among the major shipbuilding nations of the free world. During the last quarter of 1954 our country fell from sixth to twelfth place. On January 1 the gross tonnage on the



MR. BROWNLOW

ways in our private U.S. yards was less than half of that on October 1 of last year.

Lloyd's report is based on all vessels under construction having a gross tonnage of 100 gross tons or more. The Shipbuilders' Council of America collects figures on merchant vessels of 1,000 gross tons or over and which are under construction or on order. The Council's report for January 1 reveals the same shocking story.

On that day the shipyards of the free world had under construction or on order 1,347 vessels of 11,249,398 gross tons. Of this total only fourteen vessels of 193,660 gross tons were in American yards. The United States had dropped to tenth among the major shipbuilding nations. On January 1 we had only 1.7 per cent of the total tonnage building or on order.

What were other countries doing? Here is the picture:

Country	Percentage
Britain .....	35.1
Germany .....	12.6
Sweden .....	12.3
Holland .....	9.8
Japan .....	7.0
France .....	5.3
Norway .....	4.8
Italy .....	3.9
Denmark .....	2.7

While the United States has been slipping rapidly in ship construction, other countries have been experiencing remarkable gains. During the last quarter of 1954 the yards of the United Kingdom, Japan, Germany, Holland and Italy all rolled up substantial increases in new-tonnage construction. Japan nearly doubled her tonnage during the last quarter of 1954. She claims that during the last three quarters of 1954 she had more ships on order than in eighty years of shipbuilding. Japan now claims to be third in the world in shipbuilding capacity. The yards of Western Germany turned out 920,000 gross tons in 1954—the largest tonnage since World War II. And British yards have a backlog of 4,250,000 gross tons, the president of that country's Shipbuilding Conference has announced.

Meanwhile, our own American shipbuilding industry is in a distressed condition, and it is indeed a sad commentary that this condition has been aggravated—and to a large measure caused—by American firms and their affiliates. They have aggravated the condition by placing ship construction orders in foreign shipyards.

While American yards and their skilled work forces are suffering from lack of work, U.S. companies and

their affiliates have seen fit to build large numbers of ocean-going vessels in the busy shipyards of foreign countries which have been rolling up substantial tonnage.

As of last June 30, U.S. companies and their affiliates were building or had on order in foreign yards and for foreign registry fifty-seven vessels totaling 888,687 gross tons—roughly four times the entire merchant ship tonnage which all our U.S. private yards had building or on order as of that date.

The orders for fifty-seven vessels to be built in foreign yards included forty-one tankers of 678,252 gross tons, ten ore carriers of 187,150 gross tons and six dry-cargo vessels of 23,285 gross tons.

These orders of American companies and their affiliates placed in foreign shipyards amount to almost five times the total tonnage under construction or on order in our American yards on February 1. As of that date our yards had on the ways or on order only thirteen sea-going or inland merchant vessels of 1,000 gross tons or more. These thirteen vessels, seven for government account and six for private U.S. flag account, total only 188,960 gross tons.

These foreign shipbuilding orders of American companies and their affiliates would have assured employment for one year for more than the 36,000 skilled worker nucleus which the Maritime Administration figures we need to maintain our private yards in a position to meet the needs of rapid expansion in the event of full mobilization.

If we include our coastal, Great Lakes and inland waterways and the repair facilities, 130,000 workers are needed in the shipyards of the nation. These workers and yards should be distributed in the proper ratio on the three coastal fronts and also inland and Great Lakes waterways.

A few weeks ago another large American oil company [Tide Water Associated Oil] announced that it had ordered four 50,000-ton supertankers, the largest such ships ever built, to be constructed in France and delivered in late 1956 and early 1957.

The Maritime Administration has estimated that the construction of a considerably smaller supertanker of 35,500 deadweight tons provides ap-

proximately 750 man-years of shipyard work. On this basis, it would appear that these four supertankers alone would have supplied our shipyards with at least 4,000 man-years of shipyard work.

Each of these vessels ordered abroad is a direct loss to our shipbuilding industry. As all of them are to be operated under a foreign flag, they will also constitute a loss to our American merchant marine. It is through such practices that these companies fail to sustain our American standard of living and the purchasing power of American workers, which is principally responsible for the broad American markets for their products.

These companies are American companies. They have a moral obligation to support American industry and our standard of living. It is unfair of them to ignore the plight of American workers. The patronage of American workers has made their success possible.

Trade unionists are well acquainted with the tactics of the runaway shop and farming-out of work. What is this practice of American companies in placing their ship construction work in foreign yards and then operating the vessels under foreign flags but another form of this same old problem?

It is true that construction costs in foreign yards are substantially less than in our own. The American standard of living is higher. Direct and indirect costs are greater. Therefore, even though our shipyards are more efficiently operated than those in foreign lands, the end-product costs more.

The construction of a large ocean-going vessel is not nearly so susceptible to the techniques and economies of mass production which have enabled so many American industries to meet foreign competition and constantly improve American living standards. It is still essentially a construction operation requiring specialized skills and large amounts of hand labor.

The fact that a merchant vessel is an instrument of foreign commerce makes it particularly vulnerable to cost advantages of foreign construction. Foreign construction is further stimulated and encouraged by the savings which accrue through foreign flag operation. Foreign flag

construction and operation under a foreign flag constitute a runaway from the decent living standards established over many years of struggle by American shipbuilding workers and merchant seamen through their respective trade union organizations. The saving on construction averages at least 30 per cent, and thereafter foreign flag operating costs are only about one-fourth of the costs of operation under the American flag.

Ten short years ago the United States led the entire world in ship production. Between 1941 and 1945 our yards produced 5,280 ocean-going ships totaling 54,000,000 deadweight tons. For every 100 workers employed in our private yards during the wartime peak, less than five are employed today. Today the U.S. is fighting for its life as a shipbuilding nation. We stand in last place—not first—among the major shipbuilding countries of the free world.

AMERICA's shipbuilding facilities are a vital part of our national defense. The success of any wartime overseas operation depends directly on the availability of speedy modern vessels to transport men, equipment and supplies. Prompt and adequate action by Congress on a program, including subsidies, to offset advantages of foreign yard construction and foreign flag operation is essential if we are going to maintain the necessary hard core of our shipbuilding industry and our merchant marine.

The merchant marine and the shipbuilding industry go hand in hand. The merchant marine picture is dark. For the first time since 1939 we have lost our world leadership in the volume of privately owned ocean-going tanker tonnage. As of the close of last year, according to the American Merchant Marine Institute, our privately owned ocean-going tanker tonnage had decreased by thirty-eight vessels and 320,000 deadweight tons. This left us at the start of 1955 with 6,624,658 deadweight tons, as compared with the United Kingdom's 7,054,000 deadweight tons.

U.S. petroleum imports in 1954 were a little above 1953 and five times those of 1938. However, our American flag tankers hauled only 33 per cent of this oil in the first nine months of 1954, while in 1938 American tankers hauled 53 per cent of



our incoming oil and in 1946 they hauled 76 per cent.

Our tanker fleet tonnage is at its lowest level in six years. The standing of the leading tanker nations on January 1 was as follows:

Country	Dwt. Tonnage
United Kingdom....	7,054,000
United States .....	6,624,658
Norway .....	5,693,000
Panama .....	3,578,000
Liberia .....	2,609,000
Italy .....	1,642,000
France .....	1,442,000
Sweden .....	1,166,000

The American people are the largest users of petroleum in the world. A vast portion of this petroleum comes from overseas. Recent testimony before the House Ways and Means Committee indicated that six companies import 70 per cent of the foreign oil used in the United States. Five of these are American companies. These five are purported to have 89 per cent of their proved oil reserves and 64 per cent of their present oil production outside of the United States.

Increasingly these American companies are resorting to foreign ship construction and foreign flag operation (frequently through their foreign-controlled affiliates). Foreign construction gives them an initial cost advantage. Often this is supplemented by a healthy-sized construction subsidy, accelerated cost-writeoff allowances and, in at least one country (which has now passed us in construction tonnage), a complete exemption from income tax of all revenue derived from new ships for the first three years of their operation.

Tonnage itself does not tell the whole story. The American Merchant Marine Institute estimates that about 75 per cent of our American tanker fleet was built during World War II and only 12 per cent since the war. By contrast, only 25 per cent of the foreign flag tankers were built during the war and more than 50 per cent of foreign tankers are relatively new, having been launched since the war.

About 85 per cent of our tankers will face the problem of obsolescence within the next ten years. Replacement of our tankers as they reach the twenty-year age limit will require careful planning of industry and government and the availability of large sums of money if our privately owned

and operated tanker fleet is to be maintained.

During the last twelve months increasing numbers of American merchant seamen have been beached. These Americans are jobless because of generally slow conditions in our shipping industry, the transfer of more than 130 ships to foreign flags and the construction of new vessels for foreign flag operation.

On January 1, according to the Maritime Administration, our merchant fleet offered 58,800 berths. This was 7,550 fewer than a year earlier. Unemployment rolls and union waiting lists "reflect the sad state of the nation's seagoing force," says the *New York Times*. According to this newspaper, the A. F. of L. Masters, Mates and Pilots report only one-third of 12,000 members at sea. This union supplies deck officers for virtually all of the nation's deep-sea



**Many U.S. seamen are jobless**

shipping. The other unions of seagoing workers report longer-than-usual waits for jobs.

America's shipbuilding industry and America's merchant marine operate directly in the national interest. They are part and parcel of our national defense. Last year Congress enacted various measures designed to bolster the shipbuilding industry and the merchant marine. These included:

The so-called 50-50 cargo bill, requiring that at least one-half of all cargoes financed by the U.S. government—whether inbound or outbound—must move in American flag ships. A ship mortgage insurance law. A law providing for the private construction of fifteen tankers for long-term Navy charter and the building of four by the Navy. The Liberty ship conversion program, providing for the experimental conversion of four of these vessels. The tanker "trade in and build" program. The passenger-cargo ship replacement

program providing for the replacement of four passenger-cargo vessels for South American and Caribbean trade. The Navy (MSTS) special ship program, involving seven special-type ships. The emergency repair program providing \$12,000,000 for repair of vessels from the laid-up fleet.

These programs are helpful. They mitigate—but do not solve—the national crisis in shipbuilding and the merchant marine. The long-term merchant ship construction program, which the Eighty-third Congress failed to act on, is sorely needed. This proposal called for the construction in American shipyards of sixty cargo and cargo-passenger ships per year.

Adoption of this program would be a long step toward meeting the "block obsolescence" which faces our merchant fleet and would assure a nucleus of about 36,000 skilled workers employment in our merchant shipyards for our ocean-going ships. According to the Maritime Administration, this is the minimum peacetime employment which must be maintained in our merchant ship construction program as a "mobilization nucleus" if our private yards are to be in a position to meet the needs of rapid expansion in the event of full mobilization. The Eighty-fourth Congress, which is now in session, should take prompt and favorable action on similar legislation.

The present growing trend toward foreign construction and foreign flag operation is sapping the strength of our shipbuilding industry and our merchant marine. Our national safety, which demands the maintenance of our shipbuilding at least at the "mobilization nucleus" level and a speedy modern merchant marine fleet with the skilled men to man it, is endangered.

Our merchant marine is our lifeline in wartime overseas operations. It must be ready and available to transport men, equipment and mountains of supplies, should the need arise.

We must keep our American corporation-controlled ship construction work in our American yards. We must see to it that American-owned vessels operate under the American flag. Effective action to solve these problems must be taken promptly by the Eighty-fourth Congress.

# Editorials

By GEORGE MEANY

## Labor Unity

**T**HE FIRST EFFORTS to end the split in organized labor, which took place in 1935, began two years later when committees representing the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations vainly sought to reach an agreement. In the next sixteen years the conventions of both organizations each year adopted resolutions affirming the desirability of labor unity, and conferences repeatedly were resumed, but the results were negative. Each time, although definite progress toward a meeting of minds was achieved, the conferences broke up in failure. It became apparent that the bitterness engendered by inter-union rivalry on the organizational field served to defeat every sincere effort at the top level to end that rivalry.

Thus, when unity negotiations were again undertaken in 1953, it was agreed on both sides that in order to attain constructive results it might be helpful, as a first step, to seek a way to end union raiding. What were the facts as to the extent, the cost and the results of such raiding? No one had the answers. It was decided to appoint a committee of research experts from both sides to get the facts. They made a thorough study and submitted a joint report. That document was shocking. It informed the conferees, on the basis of official records, that raiding was widespread, that it was extremely costly and that the net result was negligible. In other words, neither side had made any significant gain from all the time, effort and money expended in raiding other unions or defending itself from raids.

As practical trade unionists, the members of the negotiating committee unanimously agreed that this was bad business. In short order, they negotiated a no-raiding agreement which went into effect after it had been approved by the conven-

tions of both organizations and had been signed by most of their affiliated unions.

It was then found possible to discuss the serious problems involved in a merger of the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. in an atmosphere of peace. Last October a basic formula was evolved and a subcommittee was assigned the task of drafting a detailed plan. Its report was completed February 9. The full committee approved it unanimously that same afternoon. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor ratified it the following day—unanimously. The C.I.O. Executive Board met and approved it at a meeting February 24.

Now that the terms of the merger have been agreed upon, the unity committee will draft a proposed constitution for the new, united organization. That document will be submitted for approval to the executive bodies of both organizations and then submitted for ratification to the conventions of the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. this fall. Once that is accomplished, a joint convention will be held and the united labor federation will begin functioning.

It is still too early to begin to appraise all the benefits that can and will be derived from the establishment of a single trade union center in the United States with more than fifteen million members. That unity will redound to the benefit of the workers of this country is unchallengeable. It will give labor a stronger bargaining position. It will enable the trade union movement to make tremendous forward strides in organizing the unorganized. It will strengthen labor's political position and make its legislative work more effective.

All these factors already have been canvassed thoroughly in the press, either favorably or unfavorably.

It should be emphasized here that the increased

power that labor will derive from unity must be accompanied by a corresponding increase in self-responsibility.

Labor must conduct its affairs in a way that will command the respect and approbation of our fellow citizens. It must give more time and effort toward making a constructive contribution to community improvement. Labor must be willing at all times to cooperate with management and industry for the public welfare.

Labor must strive in every way at the national

level to promote policies and programs that will strengthen America, rather than weaken it.

Labor must be even more active in the international field toward the end that peace may be preserved and our free way of life safeguarded, along with the freedom and economic opportunity of the people of other friendly nations.

This is a big program, but a big organization, dedicated to human betterment, such as the united labor movement is destined to become, can take it in stride.

## Legislative Red Lights

UTAH HAS NOW BECOME the eighteenth state to adopt the type of union-wrecking legislation masquerading under the sanctimonious title of a "right to work" law. Pressure is mounting in a number of other states for such legislation. It stems from business groups anxious to create a compulsory open shop, on the theory that once union security has been destroyed by law, it will not be too difficult to destroy unions altogether.

While the misnamed "right to work" laws thus far have been enacted mostly in agricultural states, it behooves every state and central body, even in industrial areas, to be on the alert. The enemies of labor have tasted victory and their appetite for more will not be easily appeased. They have the money and apparently they have considerable influence in many of the State Legislatures.

The fight against such restrictive legislation is not limited to labor alone. Many leaders of the clergy and fair-minded people generally are actively on our side. Once they understand the fraudulent nature of this legislation—its obvious design to mislead the public—they become just as indignant as we are about "right to work" laws which guarantee the right to work to no one but merely outlaw any form of union security clause in collective bargaining contracts.

Of necessity, the battle against this legislation is taking place and must continue to be waged at the state level. The American Federation of Labor is conscious of its responsibility to help the State Federations in their fight and is doing so with informational and educational material. There is also a job to be done in Washington.

The Taft-Hartley Act, of course, permits the union shop. However, one of its provisions (Sec-

tion 14-B) also permits the states to forbid the union shop, or any other form of union security, by state legislation which is explicitly given precedence over the federal law. It may truly be said that Section 14-B of the Taft-Hartley Act is the father of all the state "right to work" laws because the latter would have no legal sanction without the express authorization of the Taft-Hartley provision.

For this reason, while the fight against the "right to work" laws must go on at full blast at the state level, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor decided at its recent meeting to urge Congress at the same time to repeal Section 14-B of the Taft-Hartley Act. This will be done. It is doubtful whether we can succeed in the present Congress. But the effort must and will go on. In no other field does the federal law grant precedence to more severe state laws except for this one area of union security. This is a great wrong which the American Federation of Labor is determined to redress no matter how long the struggle.

### Office Workers Need Union Protection

*WOMEN who work for a living receive higher pay and have greater job security if they belong to the Office Employees International Union, A. F. of L. Urge the unorganized office employees you meet to join the O.E.I.U. today.*





# Actors Face Their Problems

By RALPH BELLAMY

President, Actors' Equity Association

**E**VERY labor union has problems which are peculiar to it, either because of the nature of the field in which it operates or because of the nature of its membership. The A. F. of L. Actors' Equity Association, because its jurisdiction is over actors in the dramatic and musical theater, has its full share of problems on both counts.

Equity's main concern is with employment for its members. The present season has been better than average in New York and on the road, but there is still not nearly enough producing activity to provide work for all the 6,500 Equity members or any considerable proportion of them at one time. And the nature of the theater itself is so precarious that it is doubtful that the time will ever come when the usual form of production will provide that kind of employment.

Over the last year Equity has been looking around in an attempt to see where new employment for actors and actresses could be created or where presently existing employment could be expanded and organized.

Turning to the creation of new employment, Equity found a suitable object lesson at hand and available. Several years ago Philadelphia built a canvas-roofed amphitheater in Fairmount Park and presented a series of productions in it. These proved to be so successful that the considerable initial outlay was earned back in three years. The venture is now a source of revenue to the city as well as a pleasure to its citizens.

If, thought Equity, that had happened in Philadelphia, why might it not be true of other cities also? So Equity had a twenty-page illustrated brochure prepared. Entitled "A Theater for Your City," the brochure was sent to the mayors and park commissioners of seventy cities throughout the United States and Canada.

Wherever any interest in a project like Philadelphia's was indicated—and several cities displayed decided



MR. BELLAMY

interest—Equity was prepared to follow through with a visit from a representative who was conversant with the layout, budget and operational procedure at Philadelphia and who was armed with arguments as to why the project should succeed equally well in the city under consideration.

At this time it appears that two new civic theaters may begin operations in the summer of 1955, and it is possible that this number may be increased by the time the season opens. If the new theaters are successful, Equity is hopeful that the example may be contagious and that other cities may be led to try the experiment.

**A** NEW field of employment for actors is beginning to push its way over the horizon. Various industrial concerns are becoming aware of the advantages of dramatizing their products and services to their own employees and to present and potential customers.

What is offered is not the conventional type of dramatic or musical play that is found in a theater. The productions are of all sizes, shapes

and complexions and cover an enormous range in time and material. In one manifestation it may be a ten-minute sketch which will be repeated to different groups a dozen times a day. In another it may be a full-fledged musical revue which may be presented to a convention.

The one thing the shows-for-industry all had in common, up to now, was a complete absence of standardization as to the time they required, the work demanded and the salaries paid. Nevertheless, the number of such productions was increasing, they were employing more and more actors and their potential was very great.

For some months now, while information on which agreements could be based was being gathered, Actors' Equity has used informal letter agreements to cover the employment of its members in this field. Very soon our Council will consider the report and the recommendations of the committee which has been working on the matter. Actors' Equity then will be in a position to negotiate for standard conditions and minimum salaries in what may well prove to be an expanding and increasingly important field of theatrical employment for actors.

Our organization has been aware for some time of the potential value to the theater and its people of closed-circuit and eventually subscription television. The telecasting of all Broadway openings and the repetition at periodic intervals of the more attractive plays may be of material assistance in the financing of productions, the release of more money for future productions and the employment of many more actors, as well as additional pay for the performers in those telecasts.

It is the belief of Actors' Equity that such telecasts will interest a great audience that does not now have access to the legitimate theater and will lead many more people to seek it out and to support an expan-

sion of present theater facilities. We are working on this project with the greatest diligence and have high hopes for its success.

Employment in the theater and in general throughout the entertainment industry is unpredictable. It is not that the theater is a seasonal activity, for it operates the year around. Nor is it a fringe industry either. In New York City alone, the theater is responsible for bringing hundreds of thousands to the city every year—and once there they spend millions of dollars not only for entertainment but in the hotels, restaurants and shops.

No, the theater is not a negligible industry, but it does not provide any assured or regular income for its people. And its personnel requirements are so much a matter of personal judgment as to rightness for a particular part in a particular play that even able and established actors find themselves confronted with long periods of unemployment.

The one thing which makes it possible for many of them to remain in the theater and to continue to look for work is unemployment insurance. For if they have to take jobs outside the theater, they cannot continue to visit the offices of producers and employment agents. And an actor, to keep himself alive in their memories, has to be both available and apparent.

In the last four years actors in New York have been unduly handicapped and in many instances deprived of unemployment insurance by the

amendment to the state law known as the Hughes-Brees amendment. The principal feature of this law to which the actors object is a provision that a claimant for unemployment insurance must have worked at least twenty weeks in the fifty-two weeks preceding the filing of his claim. And the theater simply does not provide that amount of employment for any considerable part of its workers.

Under the New York law in force prior to the adoption of Hughes-Brees in 1951, anyone who earned \$780 in a calendar year qualified for unemployment insurance, regardless of the time worked. Under that provision a little more than half of the actors who worked at all could qualify for unemployment insurance. But where the primary requirement is twenty weeks of work, the number who could qualify has been cut to between 23 and 24 per cent and seems unlikely to rise any higher.

For four years the Actors' Equity Association has been trying to persuade the New York State Legislature to restore qualification for unemployment insurance by money earned as well as by time worked. Equity has indicated that it would be willing to have the sum for qualification set as high as \$1000, which would surely exclude casual or fringe workers, but which would result in the qualification of up to 45 per cent of the actors who worked at all. That would be a notable gain, but it would not subsidize actors as a group.

The last convention of the New York State Federation of Labor

adopted a resolution endorsing Equity's position. The officers of the State Federation of Labor are working in Albany to help the actors obtain the relief to which they are entitled. There is a new Governor and there are some new legislators, but the Republican Party still controls both branches of the Legislature—and that was the party which adopted and has maintained the present inequitable law. Equity is hopeful that it can obtain some relaxation of the unemployment insurance law in New York State, but it is one of our biggest problems at the moment.

**T**HE nature of theatrical employment also imposes another hardship upon the actor which can be remedied by legislation. Many of his engagements are obtained through theatrical employment agents whose commissions are based upon the salary which the actor receives. Where that commission is not regulated by the law, the amount may be excessive. Excessive or not, the actor is hard put to it to refuse to pay more because the work offered may come at a time when he has not had employment for a long time and is desperate for work.

For more than fifty years New York State's general business law has limited the amount which may be charged by employment agents. Actors' Equity has fought long and hard to keep the law on the statute books. Its presence there irks the agents, and there have been half a dozen at- (Continued on Page 29)

*Unemployment in the theater is a perpetual problem. These actors are in 'Lunatics and Lovers,' a hit*



# LABOR PLAYS ITS PART IN THE STRUGGLE

By HAROLD E. STASSEN

Director, Foreign Operations Administration

**L**AST September, in Los Angeles, I had the privilege of addressing the seventy-third annual convention of the American Federation of Labor. The substance of my message, like ancient Gaul, was divided into three parts—a commendation, a report and a provocative challenge.

When President Meany's invitation to write a piece for *THE AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST* came to me, it seemed a good opportunity to take stock of the picture as it has developed since that interesting convention some six months ago.

At that time I told the assembled delegates, and through them the millions of their colleagues in the labor movement:

"I commend you for the active and constructive interest which you have taken for many years in the foreign policy of our country and in the free trade union movements in other countries."

That was the "commendation."

The "report" was to the effect that the Foreign Operations Administration and the American Federation of Labor had worked out a complete agreement for a working relationship whereby labor would become an active element in President Eisenhower's foreign operations program and that this felicitous agreement had been possible because "the fundamental objectives of the American Federation of Labor and of President Eisenhower's foreign operations program are the same."



MR. STASSEN

The "challenge" I cited was the difficult task facing the free world in completing the economic adjustment from war production, from abnormal defense production, to conditions of peace, and to go forward with expanding economies and better conditions of living.

A review of developments during the fairly short interim between that convention in Los Angeles and this appraisal of labor's important contribution to our country's foreign operations shows:

(1) The continued cause to reiterate the "commendation."

(2) Swift development and imple-

mentation of the agreement cited in the "report." The Labor Section of the Foreign Operations Administration is functioning smoothly and effectively and is making a significant contribution to the fight for freedom and a better way of life for peoples the world over.

(3) The essential character of the "challenge" still obtains, of course, but we can derive satisfaction from the evidence that we are meeting it with encouraging success.

Within the Foreign Operations Administration, labor representatives not only reach out to help fellow workers across the seas to achieve a better and more productive life; they also help bring the point of view of America's great labor organization to important planning and policy councils of President Eisenhower's Administration.

On the Labor Committee of the Foreign Operations Administration, which I, as Director of the F.O.A., serve as chairman, are: George Meany, Matthew Woll, David Dubinsky, George P. Delaney, A. E. Lyon, Walter Reuther, James B. Carey, David J. McDonald, Jacob S. Potofsky and H. E. Gilbert.

The director of F.O.A.'s Office of Labor Affairs is John K. Meskimen, who has had broad experience in international labor affairs. Since his appointment seventy-five additional overseas positions connected with our labor operations have been established—thirteen for Europe, twenty-



four in the Near East, sixteen in the Far East and twenty-two in Latin America. Already many of these posts have been staffed with able and dedicated labor officials, and recruitment is well under way for the remaining positions.

These shirt-sleeve diplomats, as one of the labor officials has called these overseas envoys, working in many cases against formidable obstacles such as bitter Communist opposition, are nevertheless making progress in demonstrating the spirit and the know-how of America's great free labor organizations.

**T**HE importance of the free trade unions in the epochal struggle between freedom and the international Communist menace cannot be too strongly emphasized.

Through the efforts of the free labor unions, workers in Italy during 1954 attained the highest wage levels in their history—real as well as rate-wise. This is an especially significant development because in Italy, unfortunately, Communist-dominated unions are numerically powerful.

The labor operation of the Foreign Operations Administration is most effective in carrying through the technical cooperation and exchange program under which some 400 trade union leaders and labor specialists from foreign nations were brought to the United States last year to observe and learn American methods and American know-how. In this two-way exchange last year, many American labor experts went out to scores of nations abroad to help free trade unions develop into competent democratic organizations.

One of the most important groups brought to the U.S. in 1954 by the F.O.A. technical exchange program was a group of top trade union leaders from the six countries of the European Coal-Steel Community. They came to the U.S. to study the adjustment of our American workers and unions to technological changes in our coal and steel industries. They traveled to mines and mills, spoke to union leaders, workers, management people and government officials, and had an opportunity to observe American life and labor in all its varied aspects.

They reported how impressed they were with the fact that American workers in these industries relied on

their strong unions to protect their economic interests where technological change was affecting them. In addition, they observed that industrial relations in the United States were basically harmonious and constructive, despite the outbreak of occasional strikes. What made an especial impression on them, they reported, was the obvious contrast between the general faith of American workers in their economic future and the acute preoccupation of the European worker with security.

These European labor leaders observed our American democracy in operation; they noted the informality of relations among all groups in the community; they were constantly aware of the high standards of living of our workers in the United States, and they realized that these democratic evidences were closely related to the absence of sharp class lines in our American society.

Through the productivity programs we are stimulating efforts abroad to raise the individual productivity and the income of the worker, and by this means—and in concert with our programs dealing with other elements of the economy—to improve the entire living standards and defensive capacities of the country as a whole.

These programs, it should be stressed, are carefully worked out in advance, taking into account the myriad factors that such excursions into international cooperation inevitably entail. The active participation of the free trade unions is an indispensable factor in their success.

The productivity program is so devised as to attain maximum impact yet at the same time protect against perversion of its good purposes to the undesirable ends of "speed-up" schemes and similar devices.

All of the U.S. programs must weigh the delicate balances and determine their content on the basis of the definitive criterion—the enlightened self-interest (as distinctly opposed to "selfish" interest) of the United States and its free world partners and the billion or more people they represent.

This, we are convinced, is spelled out in fostering the welfare, the aims and ambitions of the workers all over the world—better conditions of work, higher productivity, higher wages, lower prices for the consumer, politi-

cal stability and, above all, freedom and the capacity to defend that freedom against any predatory ideology or against efforts to subvert the society from within.

The union officials who sit on F.O.A.'s Labor Committee do not occupy themselves with labor matters to the exclusion of broader policies by any means. They have a keen interest in and awareness of all of the major problems. They are concerned with the entire broad field of American foreign policy as well as with the component programs and projects that implement it.

Meanwhile, labor's representatives in the front lines, as it were, are working effectively on the scene to foster the development of free labor unions as an integral factor in the progress of these countries. Take, for example, a significant project in Turkey, one of the key bastions in the free world's line of defense against Soviet aggression.

The young Turkish labor movement faces tremendous problems, resulting partly from the rapid transition of an agricultural to an industrial labor force, partly from the economic problem inherent in a fast—some might claim too fast—industrial expansion. These problems range from internal union organization and employer relations to the need for labor to seek a constructive relationship to the state.

The F.O.A.-sponsored labor leader program represents the single most important contribution to the solu-



**Visitors from abroad learn how U.S. union keeps its records**

tion of the last-named problem. This plan calls for training some 300 trade union leaders in schools being held in five Turkish cities. Each school runs about five weeks. It is directed by a faculty made up of five Turkish and four American instructors. The "students" are selected by the Turkish unions themselves under a system established by the Ministry of Labor. Materials needed for the course (textbooks, supplies, etc.) are provided by F.O.A.

The course consists of seventy-six hours of classroom work devoted to phases of Turkish labor development and sixty hours of general labor subjects based on American experience. Illustrative subjects are "Techniques of Trade Union Administration," "Turkish Labor Legislation," "How to Conduct Union Meetings," etc. Through this course 199 students already have won diplomas.

The fruits of another joint U.S. labor program are showing up in the Philippines, vital link in the free world's chain of resilient democracies. Although much remains to be done there, considerable progress has been made in improving wages and working conditions through the enactment of progressive labor legislation. American trade union and labor specialists have assisted the Philippine government in this field under the F.O.A. program.

Filipino workers are now receiving the benefits of laws governing minimum wages, employment of women and minors, workmen's compensation and many others designed to safeguard the health and well-being of workers as well as to encourage the development of free and democratic trade unions. Efforts are continuing to help strengthen the Philippine Department of Labor and the Philippine trade union movement.

These bi-partisan mutual security programs, which labor is helping to carry forward, represent the best hope for peace, a peace that will improve progressively the climate in which free men the world over can attain a richer and more rewarding life.

History has shown us that the would-be dictator, the tyrant, the oppressor invariably tries to suppress the free labor organizations in his country as a prerequisite for consolidation of absolute power. This is so because he knows that free, dy-



**F.O.A.'s Labor Affairs Office is directed by John Meskimen**

namic federations of working men are one of the strongest deterrents to totalitarian control.

In most of the countries of Europe internal democratic institutions have been strengthened with the success of European economic recovery, speeded by the Marshall Plan and its successor programs. The numbers enrolled in the Communist parties have fallen off sharply, the circulation of their party newspapers has declined and their labor influence has been diluted as free labor unions have grown in strength.

Since these programs have been in force, buttressed by the NATO setup and other plans of international cooperation, the Communists have not gained one inch of new territory in

Europe. That war-ravaged continent has been rebuilt into a thriving, productive community. American economic aid is today—with a few exceptions—closing out completely.

Today emphasis of our programs has turned to Asia and that great arc from Japan to Afghanistan where communism has been stepping up its efforts to gain control by exploiting misery and perverting hope. The countries of free Asia comprise about one-third of the world's population yet produce only about eight per cent of the world's goods and services, as compared with the United States which embraces six per cent of the world's population and accounts for forty per cent of the world's goods and services.

We must help these people up the rocky hill to a decent standard of life. And as these countries develop, their rising standard of living, their economic advance, their capacity to produce and to consume, to trade and to invest will create new markets for the industrial nations of the world, including the United States.

Here, in mid-Twentieth Century, man can derive some satisfaction from the giant gains made in the past fifty years. But the challenge ahead is greater than ever in this era of the hydrogen bomb. Nevertheless, if we proceed with a firm determination to work together, share together and hope together, harnessing the atom for peaceful purposes rather than destruction, then the horizons of the future are unlimited.

## Labor Opposes Prejudice

THE American labor movement cannot tolerate prejudice, intolerance or discrimination, President George Meany of the American Federation of Labor asserted in an address at a national conference sponsored by the Jewish Labor Committee.

The A. F. of L.-C.I.O. merger agreement has a clause, Mr. Meany said, which stipulates that the full benefits of trade union organization are to be accorded to all working people regardless of race, religion or national origin. This provision will be implemented by internal machinery to be set up in the merged federation, he declared.

The coming merger will mean more effective efforts to obtain a national

fair employment practices statute, Mr. Meany told the conference. Human rights, he said, must be the practical concern of all trade unionists.

"The person who is unorganized because of a racial bar or discrimination of any kind is a threat to the conditions of those who are organized," the A. F. of L.'s president pointed out.

Mr. Meany, calling last year's Supreme Court decision against segregation in the public schools "a milestone," said:

"If all of us, black and white, can fight and die together on the battlefields to preserve our American way of life, we can go to the same school together."

# UNESCO and American Workers

By JOHN D. CONNORS

*Director of Education, A. F. of L.*

OF vital importance to American citizens—and particularly to American workers—is UNESCO, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. UNESCO, one of the specialized agencies of the United Nations, works to carry out the primary purposes of the parent body—the establishment and the protection of world peace.

UNESCO works toward this goal by promoting cooperation among the nations through education, science and culture. Its purpose, thus, is of importance to all peace-loving people. Because it works to promote peace—and does this through fighting illiteracy, ignorance and intolerance—UNESCO is particularly important to American workers who have fought these enemies for decades through the American Federation of Labor.

By encouraging education in reading and writing, in scientific and in vocational skills, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization is helping to raise the living standards of all people. This necessarily will tend to raise the standards of living of American workers as well as of all other segments of our national community.

One of the greatest contributions of UNESCO, through education, is the blows that it deals the international Communist conspiracy. In some parts of Asia and Africa, Soviet agents and local Communists carry on, with some success, campaigns of propaganda based on lies, half-truths and distortions. Facts—through education—stop this Red technique in its tracks. Facts about the free way of life, its culture, its ideals and its material progress provide the Asian and the African with a valid basis of judgment. Perhaps this explains why Communist Russia boycotted UNESCO for so long and forbade its satellites to become or to remain members.

Only at the recent general confer-

ence of UNESCO held at Montevideo, Uruguay, where this writer had the honor to serve as labor adviser to the U.S. delegation upon recommendation of President Meany, did Communist Russia exercise its right to UNESCO membership as a member of the United Nations. This late coming was, of course, merely a part of the "friendly face" which the Communists use from time to time when they hope to serve their own purposes thereby. This action fits in with their current "peace crusade," which is fraudulent and designed to lull the free world into inaction.

At Montevideo the Soviets led their usual drive to force the seating of Chinese Communists as the representatives of China. This move was defeated, 41 to 6. Similar attempts to admit the Soviet puppet governments of Rumania and Bulgaria were likewise defeated.

Underlining the democratic nature of UNESCO, the Montevideo conference amended the UNESCO constitution, 49 to 9, to prohibit the Executive Board from initiating activities beyond policy directives passed by the general conference itself. Policy authority was thus kept firmly in the hands of the general representatives.

ONE of the most important activities of UNESCO is its battle against illiteracy. The American concepts of liberty, due process, freedom of speech, protection against involuntary servitude, democracy and the like have little meaning for a man who cannot read. Self-government, so important to us, has little reality for a person who has neither experienced nor studied about it. Therefore, in its basic aim, mass education, UNESCO is contributing to the cause of freedom.

UNESCO by its constitution is an international agency. It does not operate as a supra-national organization. Rather it acts by, through and for sovereign independent nations. Its facilities and aid are extended

only on request of a national state, and then only as that state requests. UNESCO's constitution provides as follows:

"With a view to promoting the independence, integrity and fruitful diversity of the cultures and educational systems of the member nations, the Organization is prohibited from interfering in matters which are essentially within a nation's jurisdiction."

That this proscription is honored by the director-general and the 200-person secretariat of UNESCO gives the lie to the isolationists' charge that UNESCO is attempting to dominate the American or any other school system.

Since its establishment in November, 1945, at a meeting of Allied ministers of education in London, UNESCO has grown in membership and activities. As one of the founding nations, the United States has given UNESCO close support. There are now seventy-three member states. These determine policy questions and approve the program and budget at general conferences every two years.

Between conferences this world educational organization is governed by an Executive Board meeting several times each year. Day-to-day operations are carried on, from UNESCO's Paris headquarters and in the field, by the permanent staff (the secretariat) under the direction of a director-general. The present director-general is an American, Luther Evans, the former head of the Library of Congress.

The U.S. National Commission for UNESCO was established by Congress in 1946. Sixty of the 100 members, all appointed by the Secretary of State, are nominated by national voluntary organizations. As one of these organizations, the American Federation of Labor has been represented on the National Commission from its inception. The writer is the present representative and is a member of the executive committee.

The U.S. National Commission was



set up, as were similar national commissions in other member countries, to advise the government on the kinds of projects it believes that UNESCO should undertake, to cooperate with UNESCO's activities and to provide information to our citizens about this important agency of the United Nations.

This support of UNESCO by our government and the A. F. of L. is based not only on the high aims of UNESCO but also on its solid achievements and its proposed future program.

Primary among the UNESCO activities in which the American labor movement is interested is the holding of international seminars for specialists in labor education, such as those held in recent years at the Chateau de la Breviere, not far from Paris. Here during one summer session, for example, some dozen American trade unionists met with their counterparts from other countries to exchange ideas, techniques and information.

In the UNESCO exchange of persons program last summer, a group of American trade unionists toured Europe studying labor organizations, working conditions, etc., in several countries. Plans are now under way for the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees to charter a plane to take a group of its members on a similar four-week study tour of six countries this year.

These activities serve a double purpose: first, to enable workers in other countries to learn first-hand from Americans about our economic life; and, second, to enable our own workers in turn to learn from trade unionists of other countries more about their ways of life and work. This mutual give-and-take is of vast benefit in pointing up the economic problems faced by all workers and how they are solved through free, democratic trade unions.

America's labor movement also supports the UNESCO clearing house for educational, scientific and cultural information; the seminars of experts on the problems of education for women, evaluation of textbooks and television, and the special problems of arid zones; the missions of specialists assisting member states, who request it, in the improvement of their educational systems; the efforts to establish free public libraries more widely; and the many other

widespread activities of UNESCO. Among the more important projects is the positive encouragement of the free exchange of information among the nations of the world.

Its accomplishments, too numerous to detail here, have won for UNESCO the praise of American labor and our government. Warm endorsement has come also from the leaders of all major religious groups in the U.S.

**I**F THE past achievements of UNESCO are noteworthy, its current program is also impressive. The 1955-56 program, adopted in Montevideo, includes an expanded program of technical assistance in the form of exchange among nations of those skills, techniques and factual information which will assist mutual economic development.

Scientific and technical document centers will be completed in Mexico, Egypt, India and Yugoslavia. Primary and secondary education programs will be carried on in nineteen countries. With the direct aim of teaching skills required for a higher living standard, fundamental education programs will be conducted in nine countries, while eight will receive help in technical education projects.

As in the past, the training of adults and children, the education of teachers, the attack on illiteracy, the training of scientists, the support of research, the reproduction and the translation of the great literature of all countries, of the great works of art—all of these and other projects will continue.

What does all this cost us, as taxpayers? About three cents per person per year. Even from the standpoint of self-interest alone, the benefits to Americans in terms of increased world productivity, accelerated international trade and increased understanding make this a very good investment in peace and security.

It is to be hoped that, as literacy increases, the workers in the economically underdeveloped nations will learn how far superior the lot of the workers in the democratic countries is to their own.

This could well lead to the organization of strong and free trade unions which would advance labor's economic well-being and thus expand the economies of their countries.

As President George Meany states in his New Year's message, in summarizing the program of 1955 for American labor:

"Our first concern must be for the preservation of peace. That goal can be accomplished by strengthening our national defense, by reinforcing our alliance with the free nations of the world, by participating with them in effective programs for broadening international trade and economic growth and by joint resistance against any further appeasement of the Soviet conspiracy."

There can be no doubt that the programs of UNESCO will serve to assist the free world in accomplishing its goal of preserving the peace.

Since much of the bad feeling, suspicion and distrust between peoples is based on ignorance, which evil leaders can turn to their selfish advantage, the work of international education can make a concrete contribution to peace. As the people of the earth learn more generally, they will learn more about the Soviet slave empire and be able to see through its disguise as a "reform" movement. They will learn—particularly those in Asia and Africa who have had little if any experience in democracy—that the oppressed have the most to gain through freedom; that they would lose even the little they now have through Communist tyranny.

The United Nations and its educational, scientific and cultural organization, UNESCO, are in the forefront of the international struggle for freedom and peace. UNESCO is helping the workers in many countries in their struggle for bread and peace.

In the preamble to the constitution of UNESCO is a phrase which is almost an axiom:

"Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed."

There still is time to contribute to the 1955 Red Cross campaign. Please do your part. As President Meany of the A. F. of L. has said: "The ten million members of our organization do not have to be reminded of the great services rendered to suffering humanity at home and abroad by the Red Cross."

Make your contribution today—and please make it a generous one.

# A Look at Unionism in India

By N. G. RANGA

From *International Free Trade Union News*

INDIAN labor is predominantly patriotic and non-Communist, as the last general elections demonstrated. All the political parties take a keen interest in how industrial labor thinks and acts; they are anxious to gain influence over our workers.

The Communist Party took the lead in this effort as long ago as 1928 and 1929. In recent years the Congress Party has played a major role in preventing Communist control of labor. To this end, the Indian National Trade Union Congress was founded by some of us in 1946 and 1947 as an alternative to the so-called All-India Trade Union Congress, which was under Communist domination.

After the Socialists broke away from the Congress Party, they too found it necessary to form their own all-India workers' federation with industry-wide branches—hence, the emergence of the Hind Mazdoor Sabha.

Thus, the Indian workers are split, like their peasant brothers, into three or more politically minded trade union organizations, from the local right up to the national level. Naturally, this makes for great weakness in matters of negotiations, collective self-defense and in strike emergencies.

Many of us who have special interests in peasants, agricultural workers and artisans, in addition to industrial workers, decided to continue to work in and cooperate with the Indian National Trade Union Congress with the aim of making it the common non-political platform for all democrats in the labor field. I am sorry to say our hopes have so far not been fulfilled. The I.N.T.U.C. still continues to be predominantly the handmaiden of the Congress Party, although so many prominent workers of our own party—the Peasant Folk Party—are actively associated with it.

This dependence of I.N.T.U.C. on the Congress Party—now that it has come to be a mere political party like any other—is not healthy. In England a similar relationship is not so harmful because the British Trades

*Like the editors of the Free Trade Union Committee's publication, we believe that Mr. Ranga's interesting article is worthy of the attention of American wage-earners. It must not be assumed, however, that there is nothing else to be said on this subject or that we are in full accord with every statement in this article.*

Union Congress has a dominating influence over the British Labor Party. In India the I.N.T.U.C. is a minor body in the organizational hierarchy of the Congress Party, and those of us who belong to rival political parties do not get a non-political consideration for our proposals in the councils of I.N.T.U.C.

Indian trade unions are poor in funds. They do not have regular dues-paying memberships of any magnitude. Only the railway, postal and textile workers are rather regu-



lar in their unionism. This may be because theirs are old and well-established unions.

For a long time sections of both workers and employers in India have been demanding the revision of the Trade Disputes Act, but all were agreed that the purpose of minimizing friction might be served better by a new labor relations bill. The former Labor Minister, Mr. Giri, maintained that too much legislation formalizing employer-employee relations might not be so good. He favored the development of collective agreements. In any case, there was no agreement

among the different labor unions and employers on provisions of the proposed labor relations bill.

It is to the credit of Indian labor that, during the past four years, there has been no major strike in any of the principal industries. Our trade unions realized the consequences of going on strike against layoffs. Instead, they pursued simultaneously two methods—pressing the government to use its good offices to minimize retrenchment and prevailing on it to provide legislative protection. Mr. Giri got necessary legislation through Parliament to assure laid-off workers a minimum notice and some compensation.

Recently attempts by the textile industry to rationalize machinery and labor processes resulted in increased unemployment in India's principal textile centers. Even the Communists, who used to be overenthusiastic about mechanization of all our industries and who therefore used to attack the Gandhian stress on cottage industries, had to voice their protest against this rationalization. The government has had to take steps to discourage the spread of rationalization.

We have made much less progress in developing social insurance of workers against sickness than was hoped for when the legislation was passed five years ago. So far workers in only a few cities like Cawnpore, Bombay, Madras and Coimbatore have been provided with this service as an experiment.

Even less success has been achieved in implementing the Minimum Wage Law on the agrarian front. Many states have so far failed to extend its benefits even to a tiny minority of their agricultural workers, while others have failed entirely to recognize their obligations. Decasualization of dock labor also has not progressed to any large extent, although it is six years since legislation to bring about decasualization was passed.

The pay commission, the postal award and the railway settlements

have done much to level up the salaries, wages and allowances of the lower-grade officials and employes, and the extension of provident funds even to the lowest-grade employes on the railways and posts and telegraphs has been an outstanding achievement. But the salaries of the million and more elementary school teachers in India are miserably low, and their organizations are passing into the hands of the Communists.

The recent debacle over the bank employes' pay award could mean an increase in Communist influence in this industry of vital strategic importance. The government should have experimented with the award; instead it wants to experiment with breaking the award.

It can thus be seen that while our government's record of legislation enacted is rather good, its inability to implement these legislative promises is glaring.

**W**HAT is the position of the trade union movement *vis-à-vis* this failure of government? Labor is boiling with discontent. It is, however, too well aware of the workers' determination to carry on their jobs and not to risk them for fear their places may be taken by the ever-growing numbers of unemployed, and their inability to give up higher standards of living and to go back to the villages, as of old, in case a strike is called.

The Communists are biding their time. The I.N.T.U.C. has weakened its moral position by allowing its big leader to enter the very cabinet which refused to accept the bank award, for which the Indian National Trade Union Congress had fought so strongly . . . but in vain.

Turning to the social activities of the trade union movement, we find that less is being done now than before 1946 in the way of fighting illiteracy, intoxication and slums. In fact, the growth of towns has been so rapid and private enterprise, cooperatives and municipalities have been so meagerly enterprising that housing conditions in every town have grown chaotic and calamitous. An All-India Housing Society was formed recently, and the Five-Year Plan provides for the construction of half a million houses, but they can touch only a fringe of the problem.

Recently some improvement has taken place in the conditions of all

classes of workers because of the stemming of the tide of inflation, removal of controls and the consequent reduction in the prices of essential commodities like food and cloth, accompanied by a larger amount of employment on the various projects.

The most peculiarly contradictory forces are generally at work among Indian labor. When employment increases and earnings go up, less and less enthusiasm is displayed by workers for unionism. When depression threatens or sets in, they give way to undue pessimism. Thus, the bargaining capacity of unions is often made so problematical.

The most important need of Indian trade unionism is a band of sincere, well-trained and enthusiastic organizers and propagandists of labor origin, who will devote themselves to unionism as a full-time occupation. This is increasingly becoming possible for Communists, while it has been so difficult for the Indian National Trade Union Congress. Our I.N.T.U.C. unions are too poor to develop such a cadre.

Turning to the international politics of Indian unions, we find that the Communists are able to whip up enthusiastic support and effective propaganda among some workers for their various campaigns, while the I.N.T.U.C. is unable to interest its unions in any real campaigns in favor of democracy. Like so many other movements on the side of democracy, the I.N.T.U.C. unions are also keen on the Nehru policy of "non-involvement" or "peace front."

Even subject to this qualification, it should be possible for the I.N.T.U.C. to do its best to promote the cause of democracy. So far it has been able to do little. It is violently opposed to the Communists, like so many of us and the Peasant Congress, but it is not active in counteracting Communist-sponsored pro-Soviet and pro-Communist China propaganda. Fortunately, the Indian National Trade Union Congress took a prominent part, thanks to the late H. H. Shastri, in organizing the I.C.F.T.U.

Many Indian trade unionists are evincing growing interest in the Communist Chinese experiments in building up their industries by utilizing surplus manpower and by mobilizing the unemployed through their politico-economic shock methods. This perhaps is due to the failure of the national leadership so far to devise any striking and dynamic method for mobilizing India's vast numbers of unemployed workers of town and village.

A number of delegations of Indian trade unionists from various industries such as railways, sugar, jute and textiles have visited China and come back full of enthusiasm for the new Chinese way of life. More recently the I.N.T.U.C. has itself chosen to lead a delegation.

This atmosphere of praise for the Chinese way is certainly being exploited by the Communists for their own propaganda. It is necessary for the I.N.T.U.C. and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions constantly to remind our workers that the initial raising of tempo of construction is not a special feature of the Chinese way but is common to all dictators and autocrats, whether Napoleon, the Kaiser, Hitler, Mussolini or Stalin.

Our party and the unions which are guided by us have consistently been advocating the Gandhian way of organizing our idle manpower for social reconstruction. We are not in any way swayed by the Chinese Communist way.

Many of us have had practical training in Gandhi's national campaigns for the promotion of various social causes since 1920. We have known how nationwide, soul-stirring, dynamic and revolutionary those campaigns have been in their impact upon our masses and how successful they were. So we are quite confident that we can achieve the fulfillment of the democratic ideals of our people, raising their standards of living, education and culture, through the democratic, non-violent and progressive methods popularized by Gandhi.

For a fair, dependable, forthright presentation of the news, be sure to tune in Edward P. Morgan. He reports what's really going on in the nation and the world. An able and respected commentator, Ed Morgan is sponsored by the American Federation of Labor.



# Labor NEWS BRIEFS

►A. J. Hayes, president of the International Association of Machinists, has been confirmed by the Senate as a member of the National Security Training Commission, the nation's top policy-making body on military manpower.

►A. F. of L. President George Meany urges all Americans to support the 1955 Easter Seal campaign. Purchase of the seals helps the National Society for Crippled Children and Adults to provide care and relief for the handicapped.

►The Air Line Pilots Association has scheduled its third annual air safety forum. Pilot safety experts, meeting with government and industry officials, will discuss ways of improving air safety. C. N. Sayen is president of the A. F. of L. affiliate.

►The business agent of Plumbers' Local 343 at Vallejo, Calif., has been named that city's "Outstanding Young Man." The award went to James H. Pollard, 34, for his participation in numerous civic committees.

►Higher wages have been won at the Morrison Products Company, Cleveland, by Local 207 of the A. F. of L. United Automobile Workers. The wage increase, which is retroactive, was negotiated by a six-member committee headed by Charles McGill, president of the local union.

►Mrs. Edna McFarland has been re-elected as president of the Women's Union Label League, No. 529, at Springfield, Mo. Mrs. Margaret Brown was reelected as first vice-president of the label organization.

►The Fabricated Metal Workers, a federal labor union at Orange, Va., has gained a wage increase at the Virginia Metal Products Company.

►Local 305 of the Cement Workers has won a general wage increase in a pact with the Canada Cement Company, Ltd., Port Colborne, Ont.

►Higher pay rates have been obtained by the Carpenters in an agreement with builders at St. Joseph, Mo.



**George Meany Meets With C.I.O. Steel Union**

George Meany, president of the American Federation of Labor, met a few days ago with the Executive Board of the United Steelworkers of America. It was his first appearance before a C.I.O. union meeting. The Steelworkers' session was held in Washington. David J. McDonald, president of the Steelworkers, introduced Mr. Meany as the president-to-be of the united American labor movement. Mr. Meany, in discussing the coming merged federation, said: "We are going to try to do a better job for our members and for the people of this country. By being united, we can do a better job." In the photo above, Mr. Meany is shown greeting members of the Steelworkers' Executive Board as President McDonald (*right*) makes the introductions.

►Robert G. Corrigan has been re-elected to his fourth term as secretary and business representative of Local 42, Office Employees, in Detroit. O. G. Nelson is president of the union. Eugene Maxinoski and Theresa Schmidt have been elected to the offices of vice-president and recording secretary, respectively.

►A card party and fashion show were scheduled in Detroit by the Ladies' Auxiliary of the Printing Pressmen's Union, Local 2. Fashion show plans called for auxiliary members to model the clothes, with the show due to take place at a department store.

►The Textile Workers have won elections at the Hamilton Curtain Company in Philadelphia and the Linda Scott Company in Bethlehem, Pa.

►Gilbert F. Garza has been elected president of Local 478, Bakery and Confectionery Workers, in San Antonio, Texas. The local is composed primarily of employees of the National Biscuit Company in that city.

►Local 79, Teamsters, has signed up Florida Dairy, Inc., in Tampa. The agreement calls for wage increases, health and welfare benefits, and improved vacation and holiday plans.

►C. E. Allison has been installed as president of Local 271, Journeymen Barbers, at Hannibal, Mo. He and three others were named as the local's delegates to the sessions of the Hannibal Trades and Labor Assembly.

►Local 108, Laundry Workers, has secured higher wages in St. Louis.

►Local 229, Butcher Workmen, and Local 542, Teamsters, have reached an agreement with Swift and Company for its operations in San Diego and Imperial Counties, Calif. The company agreed to accept the health and welfare plans of both unions in place of a plan proposed by the employer.

►The Pattern Makers in Detroit have reached an agreement with the Michigan Pattern Manufacturers Association after a strike. Wages are increased in the new contract. Additional health benefits and other gains are also provided in the new accord.

►Six New York City newspapers have signed a two-year contract with Local 3, Electrical Workers. The accord provides wage increases for 160 electricians employed by the papers.

►Local 655 of the Retail Clerks has negotiated a new agreement with the A. and P. calling for substantial wage increases and improved working conditions for 500 employees. The pact covers A. and P. stores in St. Louis, St. Louis County and St. Charles, Mo.

►Members of Local 80, Typographical Union, have ratified a new two-year pact with the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star* and the Kansas City (Kans.) *Kansan*. The agreement calls for wage boosts and union security. Affected are 365 members employed by the papers.

►A successful organizing campaign has been completed by the Chemical Workers at the Allied Chemical and Dye Corporation, Front Royal, Va. Employees at this plant will be members of the union's Local 538.

►Local 572, Chemical Workers, has signed up Lever Brothers at Toronto, Ont., Canada. Wage increases, seniority provisions, grievance procedure and additional fringe benefits are included in the agreement.

►The Technical Engineers have chartered Local 171, covering much of Southern California and Southern Nevada; Local 172, San Diego, Calif., and vicinity; and Local 173, whose locale is Kansas City, Mo.

►At Tucson, Ariz., the Motion Picture Operators have signed four theaters to agreements calling for improved wages and working conditions.

►Local 322, Upholsterers, has obtained a boost in wages at the Charlton Company of Fitchburg, Mass.

## They Really Mean 'Right to Work for Less'

By JAMES E. NORRIS

Member, Pipe Organ Workers,  
Federal Labor Union 21108,  
Hagerstown, Maryland

THEY say the secret of selling is to package your wares attractively and half of the job is done. That must be what the open shoppers have in mind when they name their bills "right to work."

We of the old school of trade unionism would never consent to such a law being passed. But haven't we forgotten that there is a new generation at hand today who did not go through the trying times of the Twenties and early Thirties? There are many thousands today who think only in terms of what they have and not in terms of how they got it.

I was born the son of a coal miner in the hills of Pennsylvania. It was my lot to grow up under both union and non-union conditions. And to work in mines where a union had been busted. You had to work there or get out of the country.

I have a very vivid memory of one thing that happened to me in one of those mines. This was one of the holes where the coal was twenty-four to twenty-eight inches high and you ate smoke all day because of very poor ventilation. You came home sick every night and lay down behind

the kitchen stove until you felt well enough to take a bath and eat supper.

This particular day I had loaded several cars of coal. When I looked at the weight sheet I saw that I had no credit for three of them. I asked the boss about it and he said:

"Yes, we got them, but they had too much rock in them and we dumped them over the rock dump."

Three cars of coal, a half day's work and no pay! And no recourse. You had "the right to work" but no right of protest. I had no job in mind and no prospects of one, but I could not take that. So I quit. Yes, that is "the right to work."

I had "the right to work" once in Maryland where there was one carpenter and there were ten or twelve helpers to a gang. The carpenter got 70 cents per hour.

The helpers all got 50 cents until they "learned the job." We never learned the job.

Almost all of us worked the whole job through as helpers. Except for some of us who quit. Yes, that was "the right to work." If you stopped long enough to light a cigarette, a pusher yelled, "Heads down!"

Time came when the union got on the job. News went around you can't work there unless you join the union. And the initiation fee is \$55. Some of us had to borrow the money to get started, but we got decent wages, over twice as much as on the other job. No one shouting "Heads down!" And more work done. Some of the men did not like the \$55 idea, but they liked it better than the 50-cent per hour idea with "the right to work."

Doubtless many readers of THE AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST have had enough such experiences to fill volumes. But few of our younger men and women know of these things. It would do a lot of good if we old-timers would take time to tell them some of our experiences.

These youngsters are just as true as we are. They have the fiber and the will to fight to the finish. But they have got to know. If we don't teach them, others will. What they learn may be to their and our sorrow.

The Bill of Rights is my right to work. Under it is life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness—enough for every true American.

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# Actors Face Their Problems

(Continued from Page 19)

tempts in the last fifteen years to get the law repealed or amended.

With the aid of other unions and the State Federation of Labor, and through the friendship of many of the legislators who understand and appreciate the actor's position, Equity has been successful in maintaining the law untouched to this point. But the stakes are great—up to \$250,000 in a year—and the agents keep trying. We understand that another bill designed to gut the law will be introduced in the New York Legislature at the present session, and Equity has its fingers crossed about this one.

In the field of federal legislation Equity, along with all of organized labor, is disturbed by the continuance of the Taft-Hartley Law, not so much for what it has done to this point but for its potentialities if a recession should occur. And our organization is deeply concerned with the spread of the so-called "right to work" laws which, as Equity understands their application, mean generally the right to be forced to work for less than the going wage. These are laws which bear with equal hardship on all organized labor.

But there is one federal law which, unintentionally perhaps, imposes a special and particular hardship upon the actor. The income tax law treats all income as though it were steady and regular, as in many fields it is.

An actor long out of work may secure a part at a good salary in a play which becomes an enormous hit. Now the money he earns that year may have had to go into debts contracted in the past year of unemployment. It may be needed for the year ahead in which the actor may again be unemployed. But the government treats his salary as though it were earned by the actor every year, and it may take a whopping big bite out of his earnings that year.

It seems only fair that where an actor's earning power is so uncertain and precarious, he should be allowed to spread his tax over a period of years so that the good years and the bad years would even out. On various occasions Equity and other performers' unions whose members are faced with the same problem have

petitioned the Treasury to allow this to be done. So far the Treasury has turned a polite but inattentive ear to all such pleas, and many actors catapulted suddenly into upper income tax brackets have paid what they and Equity consider disproportionate income taxes.

In general, government at all levels has not cast a benevolent eye upon the theater and those who work in it. For instance, the theater, almost alone among industries, carried a war tax of 10 per cent on theater admissions straight through from 1918 to 1942, in spite of repeated promises. And then had it doubled for another twelve years.

In 1954, it is true, the federal tax was cut back to 10 per cent. But promptly the City of New York stepped in and took half of the saving back.

Other civilized nations, appreciating the value of their theater, assist it by the remission of taxes and by direct subsidy. The United States alone considers the theater solely as a source of revenue and ignores its cultural assets.

But the theater has assets and other nations are not only aware of them, they make use of them. The Communist world, for instance, spends lavishly to send actors and musicians abroad as a demonstration of culture,

and appear to feel that the results justify the expenditure. It is only recently that the United States has realized that it has a comparable weapon at hand if it chooses to employ it.

At this writing a touring company of "Porgy and Bess" is playing in the Near East after ranging through Europe. Wherever it has gone it has made friends and influenced people and appears to be doing a remarkable job as a roving ambassador of American culture. "Porgy and Bess" is about Negro life and has a largely Negro cast. The members of the company refute by their very presence and manner many of the charges which Communists make as to the position of Negroes in American life.

That is only one play, and an exceptional play at that, but it is an indication of the use which our government could make of the theater and its people in the present world crisis.

It is one of Equity's problems to convince the government that the theater is a valuable weapon in the cold war and one which could be employed to a greater extent and with greater precision.

Here are some of Equity's current problems, then, and also what we are trying to do about them. When we have done these jobs and turn around for a minute, we will find other problems all lined up and waiting for us. That is one thing we can be sure of—we will never run out of problems.

## NOW HERE'S A GOOD IDEA

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# A Little Labor History

By DONALD T. McDERMOTT

Member, Local 1442, Retail Clerks

**U**NDER the Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890, labor unions were enjoined at every turn in the road. In an attempt to bring their plight to the attention of the nation's legislators, the A. F. of L. in 1906 presented to Congress and the President its Bill of Grievances. Congress did not heed the cry of labor, and as a consequence Samuel Gompers, the president of the A. F. of L. at that time, decided to exert political pressure in order that labor's demands be recognized.

Through the action taken by the A. F. of L. and as a consequence of favorable public opinion, the turning point in the legislative attitude toward labor came during the administration of Woodrow Wilson. In his inaugural address Wilson attacked "the antiquated and impossible" laws that governed the relationships between employer and employees. He called for legislation that would safeguard the rights of the workers and allow them "freedom to act in their own interest."

Labor was jubilant.

"We are no longer journeying in the wilderness," Gompers proclaimed. "We are no longer in the season of planting. We are in the harvest time."

The results of labor's clamor for action appeared in the Clayton Act of 1914. The act specifically declared that "labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce." It also stated that nothing in the anti-trust laws should be construed to prevent the existence of labor unions. Further, it stated that the injunction could not be used in a labor dispute "unless necessary to prevent irreparable injury to property or to a property right \* \* \* for which injury there is no adequate remedy at law."

The A. F. of L. and Samuel Gompers hailed the act as the "Magna Charta" of American labor. *The Wall Street Journal* accused Congress of being "a huddled mob of frightened cowards."

There were, however, a few skeptics on both sides who saw the very weak bridge of hope labor was standing on. The courts soon found loop-

holes in the Clayton Act. They construed "unless necessary to prevent irreparable injury" to be the rule and continued to grant injunctions against labor.

In 1926 Congress passed the Railway Labor Act. The effect of this law was to strengthen greatly the arbitration and mediation requirements. The Railway Labor Act stated that both parties, labor and employer, would have the right to select representatives without any restraint or coercion.

**D**URING the Twenties organized labor suffered setbacks. Employers began an all-out war against the trade union movement after the depression of 1921. Industry was determined to strip from organized labor all the gains it had previously made. Various means were used to accomplish this end.

The A. F. of L. reported that nearly 900 injunctions against labor were secured by employers in the federal courts during 1928. This figure does not include the hundreds of injunctions against labor secured in the state courts. With this weapon harassing labor and management's all-out drive to break the unions, organized labor lost ground steadily.

Management came forth with new tactics in its war on labor. The theory of the "open shop," which meant "no union," was extremely popular with the employers. They formed "open shop committees" in every major in-

dustrial center. Such devices as profit-sharing, piece rates and the issuance of shares of company stock to the employees were used to turn workers against unionism.

The year 1929 witnessed not only the crash of the stock market but with it the end of the "welfare capitalism" movement. Benefits that had been extended to the workers were the first to be written off. With the decline in production and the closing of many factories, millions of workers found themselves jobless.

The A. F. of L. turned to Congress to alleviate unemployment. Many plans to spread the work were introduced, but they did little to curb the unemployment which by 1933 found 15,000,000 workers jobless.

Early in 1932, Congress passed the Norris-LaGuardia Act which declared it to be public policy that labor should have full freedom of association, without any interference by the employers. The "yellow dog" contract (an agreement whereby an employee promised not to join or continue his membership in a labor organization during his tenure of employment) was outlawed. The federal courts were prohibited from issuing injunctions in labor disputes except under carefully defined conditions.

It is well to note that it was nearly twenty years from the time the Clayton Act was passed by Congress in 1914 to the passage of the Norris-LaGuardia Act in 1932.

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**From Other LABOR PUBLICATIONS**

## 'Right to Work'

### From The Machinist

When a group of men pretends a belief in collective bargaining and at the same time works to undermine the effectiveness of the organizations that make collective bargaining possible, how can they pretend to morality? When an organization adopts one set of principles for corporations and another, contrary set for unions, how can it pretend to sincerity?

When any men hold out a false promise of a guaranteed right to work to trick state legislators into voting for bills that have the sole purpose of undermining every work right of employees, how can they pretend to honesty?

The so-called "right to work" laws and bills have been thoroughly exposed as an invitation to anarchy, a means of encouraging irresponsibility, as approval of the individual who refuses to participate with the majority in decisions affecting his own and his family's welfare.

Any movement like this so-called "right to work" movement—based on a lie, on hypocrisy, on dishonesty, on immorality—inevitably brings down on its sponsors the condemnation of the entire country.

## Flaws in the States

### From The Washington State Teamster

The failure to reapportion seats in keeping with population trends means that most State Legislatures are neither democratic nor truly answerable to the people they govern. They tend to be more responsive to the interests of cows, lakes and pasture lands than of human beings—for urban communities are grossly under-represented as compared with rural areas. No better formula for defeating the will of the majority and obstructing progressive legislation could be devised.

Demonstrations of this can be found in the outcome of past elections. In a number of cases governors were elected by substantial majorities on liberal platforms, on a statewide vote, only to find themselves confronted with reactionary State Legislatures under the control of the opposite party and dedicated to the defeat of every campaign pledge of the new governor.

The utter inadequacy of the salaries paid

to state legislators means that hardly anyone can afford to serve unless he is supported by independent wealth, or by a prosperous enterprise which does not require his constant attention, or by some special-interest lobby with a legislative ax to grind. None of these characteristics is conducive to an active or sympathetic interest in the problems and needs of men and women who work for a living.

A recent survey of the occupational backgrounds of state legislators, conducted by the American Political Science Association, gives a good indication of the economic interests that predominate in most state governments today. It found that 1,728 were businessmen, 1,674 were lawyers and 1,368 were farmers. Only 367 were identified as craftsmen or laborers. Even this does not give the full picture, for it fails to show the strings that lead from many a state legislator to big business lobbies behind the scenes.

## Sounder Trade Policy

### From The Railway Clerk

It may be asked just how lower tariffs and more foreign competition will help the everyday American citizen. Here are some of the reasons why:

Our farmers produce far more than we can eat and wear. They must sell 10 to 12 per cent of their production abroad. They can, if we allow foreigners to earn more dollars.

Many of our most efficient industries depend heavily on export markets, especially our mass-production industries—automobiles, typewriters, industrial equipment, and such. For the millions who work in these industries, bigger imports mean continued high exports—and therefore more jobs at better wages.

Foreign trade, import and export alike, creates business for our railroads, steamship lines and airlines, and also for our merchandising industries. That means more work for a multitude of Americans. Many of our railways, such as those serving Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Norfolk and New Orleans, depend very heavily on import and export shipments.

Every American is a consumer. So he benefits when a lower tariff allows price reductions in goods he buys. Foreigners have some fine skills; and most foreigners work hard for modest pay. As long as their prod-

ucts do not compete injuriously with any large American industry, it is good sense to welcome these foreign products. That raises the real living standard of Americans, because they can buy more for less money.

In one way or another, consequently, every individual American stands to benefit by a sensible policy of low tariffs. By this, of course, we do not mean free trade or even low tariffs on everything. Some of our industries need substantial import duties to protect them and their employees from the ruinous competition of cheap foreign labor.

## Broken Shoes

### From The Carpenter

For years Elsie Robinson has been commenting on the passing scene in her syndicated newspaper column. Through eyes that have seen much, Miss Robinson shrewdly looks at the fears, foibles and frivolities of the human race.

In a recent column she did a little reminiscing about the days of her childhood. A few excerpts from this column are of more than passing interest to every man who works for a living. Among other things, Miss Robinson said:

"I remember his shoes. They were such poor, broken things. Still he never complained. Men didn't in those days. Their broken work shoes were symbolic of their whole dreary lives. I wonder how they stood it. Up near dawn and off to an endless twelve-hour day, six days a week.

"A man might be born with songs in his heart and genius at his fingertips, but what did it avail him against the 'system'? Nothing. Come rain or snow, mud or sleet, he worked like driven cattle or slaves. And now, remembering, I think of his old shoes that walked so many miles without self-pity or rebellion to serve his family.

"But now I may rebel against a system which held men in bondage like that. And now, remembering those pitiful shoes, I can thank God that the unions came to free men from such drudgery and that this day no longer means men in shackles but free masters of their own destiny."

Other writers, in other articles, have expressed with considerable eloquence what the coming of unions has done to benefit workers. Miss Robinson does as good a job as any of them with her musings about an old pair of broken-down shoes.

# WHAT THEY SAY

**Wayne Morse, Senator from Oregon**

—One of the basic principles upon which our democracy is built is that of voluntary cooperation. Good labor relations are simply that — voluntary cooperation between management and labor



for their mutual benefit and for the public good. One of the strongest proofs of the strength and vitality of our democracy is that, during World War II, American industry and labor united to complete successfully the largest production program in history without serious disruption either by strike or lockout, and accomplished this by voluntary cooperation. Unfortunately, there are still industries in America which are tainted by the perverted philosophy of the robber baron who said, "The public be damned." It is in such industries that selfish, misguided employers, while asserting to the utmost their own rights, have still resisted to the utmost the constitutional and statutory rights of their employees.

**William E. Maloney, president, International Union of Operating Engineers**



—Of very great concern to operating engineers and others in the building and construction trades is unemployment across the nation. Fortunately, our own industries have been relatively busy and we have not as yet felt the real effects of the unemployment situation. However, anyone with foresight can see bleaker days in the future, for the building and construction trades as well as for other trades, unless steps are taken to beef up the nation's economy. The operating engineers, like other groups in the organized labor movement, are also greatly concerned over the increasing threat of state "right to work" legislation. Unless this misnamed state legislation is chal-

lenged and defeated or repealed, it could mean the destruction of organized labor. Construction can be called America's most vital industry. It certainly has always been a weathervane for the economy. Whenever there is brisk building, there must also be prosperity in other industries. Construction demands the materials and the products of innumerable other industries and other workers. If American labor as a whole is to prosper, the construction man must prosper.

**Matthew Woll, A. F. of L. vice-president**—America has many economic headaches



—but these are headaches of plenty. The Iron Curtain Empire, on the other hand, has plenty of economic headaches which are due to a dearth of goods rather than, as in our own case, an abundance of goods. While the Kremlin warlords have been able to build a gigantic war industry and a huge military machine, they have been unable to build an economy which could provide sufficient bread, butter, clothes, shoes and elementary comforts to a sufficient number of their people. Today "new look" Communist Russia has to import meat from far-off Ethiopia, butter from little Denmark, motors from Italy, household electrical supplies from Britain and Germany. It is anxious to get heavy machinery from the free world in order to enable it to proceed apace with the building of its war machine. But the slave economy of the Communist world has very little with which to purchase abroad. It wants credit. It occasionally disgorges some of its huge pile of slave-mined gold which has a heavy content of the blood of the workers driven to death by ruthless exploitation in slave pits. The Kremlin would want America to finance and make possible the extension of huge credits to the Communist world by Britain, France, Germany, Italy and other free lands. Who is going down? Whose economy is sounder and stronger? Whose econ-

omy is actually going up and far more able to provide the people with what they need and want? And whose economy has been able to help many other nations instead of despoil and loot them? Whose economy is calling upon whom for help? The facts are known. Merely to pose these questions is to answer them.

**A. Philip Randolph, president, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters**



—It is the history of the workingmen's associations in the United States that in their very beginning they were the most insistent advocates of a free public school system. Ever since, the organized workers have had a fundamental interest in the maintenance of the free public school system. The workers want not only a free public school system but an adequate public school system—a system which is without prejudice to the children of any section of the population of our country. The purpose of the momentous decision of the Supreme Court on May 15, 1954, was to eliminate segregation and discrimination in our public schools. We need the trade union movement and the liberal bodies in our country to take a definite position in support of this great decision. This decision did not give Negro pupils any new rights. This decision really only gave recognition to the rights that the Negro children already possessed. No government can give anybody human rights, and the right of children to a free public education is a civil right and a human right. Human rights are not man-made. They are not given by governments. They are God-given and they are God-made. For that reason this is a moral question fundamentally and basically—and because it is a moral question, it is to the interest of our country to see to it that this decision has reality and that it is not violated as were the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments following the Civil War. Last year's decision of the U.S. Supreme Court is worth more to the foreign policy of our country in combating worldwide Russian communism than all of the hydrogen bombs and atomic bombs that we can make.



# We Must Have Schools NOW

THEIR books under their arms and their coats thrown over their shoulders, Patsy Brisker and June Davis came out of the school building with shining faces.

"I wish I had left my coat at home this morning," Patsy said, shrugging her shoulders.

"Me, too," agreed June. "I told Mother it would be hot, but she was hard to convince. Oh, there's Daddy with Mr. Simmons."

She called to her father, who turned at the sound of her voice. The girls walked quickly to where the two men stood.

"Hello, Daddy," said June. "What in the world are you doing at school?"

"Well, I'm not exactly attending school," Mr. Davis replied with a smile. He put his arm around his daughter. "Mr. Simmons and I are looking over the property a bit."

"Refreshing our recollections," explained Mr. Simmons. "It has been some time since I really gave the old place a good looking over."

"It's a pretty old building," said Patsy with a frown. "I do hope we'll get some new schools in this town before we're all grown up."

"That's exactly the point we're trying to put across," Mr. Simmons said. "A city the size of ours should have at least two more elementary schools and two more junior high buildings. Our high schools are far too crowded. We need one this fall. And fortunately its construction is well under way. It should be ready for the fall term. It has to be or we'll be holding classes on the stairs, the rooms are so full."

"Our classes are packed, too," June said. "Miss Eliot, our home room teacher, calls us the Sardines. See, one of the boys made up this coat of arms for us. We all put it on our papers and notebooks and such."

She showed them the emblem. There was a picture of a flat tin can with tiny figures of boys and girls packed into it. Under the picture was a small scroll with the name of the school and class numerals on it, and under this in larger capital letters was the word "SARDINES." It was an unusual coat of arms.

The men laughed. Patsy explained

that some of the boys in the vocational classes had made the stickers,

"Have you any extras," asked Mr. Simmons. "I'd like to take them with me to that meeting tomorrow. A picture is worth a thousand words, you know."

She flipped through her notebook and found a few.

"These are all I have, but you're welcome to them."

"Don't be surprised if you see them in the daily papers the day after the meeting," Mr. Simmons said. "They may have news value."

Everyone smiled. Then June spoke.

"Daddy, I'll go along home unless you want us to wait for you. My books are getting heavy."

"You both run along. Mr. Simmons and I have an appointment with the principal in a few minutes. Tell Mother I may be home a little late for dinner."

"You'll probably see Craig," June said, referring to her brother. "He's staying for the meeting of the Speakers' Club. They are in that big room next to the principal's office. 'Bye now.'"

And Patsy and June started for home, the two men glancing after them.

"It's the boys and girls coming up that need these new schools so badly," said Mr. Simmons grimly.

"No question about that," said Mr. Davis. "We simply must have new schools. We must have adequate classroom space, enough well-trained teachers and instructors, enough playgrounds. In fact, our boys and girls need plenty. We'll talk about it and work for it, and we'll get it. Our Central Labor Union has certainly been carrying the ball on it all during the last year. You remember how we took it up with every candidate running for election last November. We have pledges from our local, county and state officials to aid us in our fight for better schools. And don't forget that we need more teachers, and all teachers need better pay, too."

Mr. Simmons nodded in agreement.

"And we need some special schools also," he said. "A number of our boys and girls who find it difficult to attend the regular schools because of

polio or other crippling illness, as well as any one of a number of other afflictions such as deafness or blindness or partial disabilities. Those kids need their schooling, and therapy, too. We owe it to all our children to see to it that they have the opportunity for a good education."

"Absolutely," said Mr. Davis. "By the way, I'm to see Bob Tompkins, the Central Labor Union representative on the School Board. Bob is a real worker. I'm to see him in the morning and discuss what he's to say and do tomorrow night at the meeting. Want to join us? You can get his views and he can see your way of thinking. That will give you both a little added strength in the conference tomorrow night. It's a closed session, I understand, and since I'm not a member of the Board this year I won't be able to attend."

"Yes, I would like to join you," Mr. Simmons said. "I'll be glad to have a chance to talk with Mr. Tompkins. I'm serious about this school situation. We're going to have to get our construction program under way. We must have federal aid. Congress must see that boys and girls can't wait. They need decent schools now, not in ten or fifteen years."

As the two men entered the building to keep their appointment, Mr. Davis spoke again.

"The American Federation of Labor has been fighting for schools, school attendance laws, free textbooks, for good pay for teachers and all those things for so long that it is just second nature to us union men. We are determined that our American children are going to have the schools and the classrooms they need. We won't rest until we provide for them." Chuckling, he added: "Our schools are for children, not sardines."

Mr. Simmons smiled and said:

"If I know anything about you union men, and I also include the union women, you simply won't rest. You'll always see what the trouble is and then you will work to correct the situation. I know that in the field of education you union folks will always be alert and will set new and higher goals. That's one of the main reasons why America is so great a nation."



# LISTEN TO EDWARD MORGAN

**NIGHTLY . . . FROM WASHINGTON  
MONDAY THROUGH FRIDAY**